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AND

LETTERS OF CICERO.

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9

AN ACCOUNT
OF
THE LIFE AND LETTERS
OF
CICERO :

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF
BERNARD RUDOLF ABEKEN.

EDITED BY
CHARLES MERIVALE, B. D.

AUTHOR OF
"THE HISTORY OF THE ROMANS," ETC.

LONDON:
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P R E F A C E.

EVERY author who sets about his work with serious purpose, has a class of readers in view to whom he hopes to be of particular service. The present work is principally designed for the teachers of higher classes in schools, whose duties require them to be well acquainted with Cicero and his writings. As long as ancient Rome is deemed a subject worthy of men's attention, and the study of the Greeks and Romans is considered the best groundwork for a liberal education, the works of this writer will be read and explained in schools, however fashion or individual taste may lead to the occasional neglect of this or that author and the substitution of another in his place.

The study of Cicero's writings however, setting aside the assistance it affords in the acquirement of the Latin language, has not been altogether productive of so much good as might have been expected. The teacher too frequently contents himself with explaining some of the philosophical or rhetorical treatises, or some favourite

oration, and, unless he has a peculiar power of making his lesson interesting, it probably seems dry enough to the student, in whom the taste for philosophy is as yet, generally speaking, dormant; whilst the speeches are calculated to strengthen the presumption of many, in whose minds a prejudice against the great man already exists, which coupled with their ignorance about him, leads them to speak with culpable levity of his foibles—especially his vanity, and to form a low estimate of his general character. They have not viewed him as a whole, or considered him in his relation to his age and surrounding circumstances. The author can remember the perplexity he himself felt, when as a school-boy he read, amongst others, the speech for Milo, never imagining the connexion in which it stands with the history of Cicero and of Rome. The idea has thus suggested itself to him, of arranging all the letters of the great Roman in a manner which will render it easy to the teacher who has to explain them to his pupils, but has neither leisure nor inclination for a close study of them, to compare them together, and illustrate them by the light of contemporary events. Cicero's other works will be perused with far greater advantage, and the admiration due to him will be more certainly accorded by the discerning scholar, when a careful study of the letters has been established in schools, especially among the more advanced classes. Those who recognize in the want of reverence for what is great and admirable a principal cause of the degeneracy of

our times will allow the first-rate importance of implanting in the youthful breast the sentiments of love and veneration.

[The foregoing sentences taken from the commencement of the author's preface succinctly explain the simple object which he set before himself in the following pages. The remainder contains suggestions to masters and scholars as to the best method of using the epistles of Cicero, and concludes with an apology for the imperfections which, as he apprehends, may be discovered in his work. These few paragraphs it has not been thought necessary to retain. A similar liberty of omission has been occasionally exercised in the body of the work; the author's remarks have sometimes been condensed, and his references to the views of writers among his own countrymen, such as Wieland and others, disregarded, where they seemed to have no interest for the English reader. A topographical disquisition on Cicero's birthplace, supplied to the work by the author's nephew, H. Abeken, has also been retrenched.

Some apology is due for a further liberty which has been taken with the work before us, in altering its title. "Cicero in his Letters," the designation which the author bestowed upon it, is brief, clear and to the purpose; but to our ears it seems, I know not why, to sound strangely, and we must allow that there are some exceptions to the dictum of Lucretius, that utility is the legitimate parent of

language.* I shrink from attempting to naturalize such a title; and in despair of finding one which should be at the same time more English and equally expressive, have been reduced to adopt one which evidently requires an explanation and an excuse. The "Account of the Life and Letters of Cicero," here presented to the English reader, is simply an analysis of the great orator's correspondence, which, as is well known, embraces, with a few brief interruptions, the whole course of his public life, and illustrates almost every particular of his conduct.

Such an analysis, connected and occasionally completed by the running commentary of the author, does in fact supply an account both of the life and letters of its illustrious subject. It presents us with a distinct outline of his political action, and of the motives which directed it, as far as any man's motives may be gathered from his own statements and confessions. These confessions, in Cicero's case, are peculiarly valuable, from the manifest unreserve with which his communications, especially those to Atticus, are made, and perhaps the more so from the different standard of personal honour and morality of his time from ours, which allows him to acknowledge, without scruple, failings which modern delicacy and self-respect would certainly have impelled him to conceal. It is to be remarked, however, that Cicero speaks but little in his letters of his labours in ethical, political, and oratorical

* *Utilitas expressit nomina rerum.* V. 1028.

science ; and the reader must not look to this account of his life for the means of estimating his qualities as the greatest master of Roman Eloquence and Speculation.

Of Cicero's character, however, as a political moralist and statesman, the work before us seems to me to furnish a faithful and useful analysis. It is a character about which there will always be some difference of opinion, and a curious history might be written of the fluctuations to which it has been subject in this respect. — There has never been a human mind the materials for estimating which have been so ample, so complete, I may say, until we come to quite modern times, as Cicero's ; and so imperishable is the charm of this familiar knowledge, that now, after the lapse of nineteen centuries, we can hardly draw the attention of our contemporaries to it without raising again the hosts of his worshippers and his critics, as eager to do justice to it or upon it, as if he were still alive. ✓

It will be sufficient, however, to introduce this work with the remark that the reader will find a much truer portraiture of Cicero in his letters than in his oratorical works. Nevertheless, it is from the latter that the popular idea of his character is most commonly drawn ; and it is too frequently forgotten that we have no contemporary testimony, except that of Sallust, on a single point, to correct it. The other ancient writers who give us detailed accounts of Cicero's career lived two hundred years

after him; and if Plutarch were not too good-natured, Dion too ill-natured, and Appian too careless to be much relied on, we should still be ignorant how far the historical traditions of their time were themselves derived from the statements of Cicero himself, which continued probably from the first to outweigh, in general acceptation, the histories of Pollio and even of Livy.

For my own part, I cannot quite agree with Abeken, if I understand him rightly to argue, in the extract I have given from his preface, that the common reading of the orations rather than of the letters tends unduly to lower our opinion of the illustrious author. The study of Cicero's correspondence will undoubtedly enhance our appreciation of the goodness of his heart and his lofty ideas of honour and virtue; but it can hardly fail, I think, to correct the overweening estimate of his political wisdom and earnestness of purpose, to which we might be led by the perusal of his oratorical and philosophical works only. His letters reveal to us that the sage and statesman of the expiring Republic excelled none of his most eminent contemporaries either in candour or foresight. If it cannot be said of him that he rose above the prejudices of his class and position, — the *idola tribus* which test the genuineness of every pretension to superior wisdom, — what benefit did he derive from all the lessons of philosophy he learned and taught? What did he gain from revolving the comments of Aristotle upon the hundred and fifty polities of antiquity,

if they failed to teach him that the crisis of the Roman free-state was inevitable; that wisdom and patriotism might temper, but should hardly have desired to avert it; if they did not lead him to distinguish names from things, and discriminate between the living and active constitution of the sixth century, and the stately ruin of the seventh? It is humiliating to the pretensions of human genius, but it not the less becomes us to acknowledge it, that after all his efforts to purge his mental vision of the films of prejudice, Cicero was blind to the real fact, that his devotion to the Commonwealth was grounded not so much upon his conviction of its actual merits, as of its fitness for the display of his own abilities.

It was no part of the intention of the author of this work to lead his readers to such views as these, and it is very possible that their study of it may bring them to a different conclusion. However that may be, the following pages seem to me to represent the facts of the case with lucidity and fairness, and in sufficient detail for forming an accurate conception of the man and his times. This translation has accordingly been made, at my suggestion, as a help to the English student of the most important era of antiquity. A few notes added by myself are distinguished from the author's by brackets, but no opinion has been expressed, except in one or two cases, on the views of the writer. These may not be uniformly identical with my own, but they are always sensible and honourable;

- and I trust that the consideration of them will prove as serviceable to others as it has been to myself.

The double references in the margin are to the chronological numeration of Schütz, and to the ordinary arrangement. Billerbeck's arrangement is identical with Schütz's, except that he affixes the numbers 568, 569. to *Div. v. 14, 15.*, which Schütz had marked 568*a*, 568*b*. From this point the numeration of the former continues always one in advance of that of the latter.

C. MERIVALE.

Lawford, Feb. 15th, 1854.]

AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
LIFE AND LETTERS OF CICERO.

INTRODUCTION.

A SHORT CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE LIFE OF CICERO,
AND OF CONTEMPORARY EVENTS, UP TO THE PERIOD WHEN
HIS LETTERS BEGIN.

THE period at which Cicero was born was in itself one of momentous importance, and the more so from its bearing within it the seeds of those great events which were destined to overturn the Roman commonwealth, and to elevate the City of the Seven Hills to entire sovereignty over the then known world, yet eventually also to bring on the gradual decline and final ruin of that stupendous power. At this epoch, the war occasioned by the migration of the Cimbri and Teutones was still raging: in the year before Cicero's birth, the Consul L. Cassius Longinus had suffered a severe defeat from the Helvetian tribe of the Tigurini; in the year that he was born the Jugurthine war had been terminated by Marius and his Quæstor Sulla. The same year witnessed the commencement of the jealousy between those two personages, which, at a later period, produced

so terrible a civil war; a war, however, which was only the prelude to a party struggle yet more important and more extensive in its consequences, and which proved ultimately decisive of the fate of Rome. Pompeius, the future chief of one of these parties, was born in the same year with Cicero. Marius had shown with what success an able and enterprising captain could sway the mass of the people for his own ambitious ends; and, though he subsequently gave way before the conquering fortunes of Sulla, any unprejudiced person must have foreseen that the Aristocracy or Optimates of this period would be forced to succumb, if brought into collision with a second and a greater Marius.

A. U. 648. B. C. 106. CIC. ÆT. 1.

Cicero was born in the year of the City 648*, in the consulate of C. Atilius Serranus and L. Servilius Cæpio¹, on the 3rd of January², on an estate in the neighbourhood of Arpinum, a municipality of the ancient Volseian territory. His father, after whom he was named Marcus, was content to reside in the country on account of the weakness of his health, and there devoted himself to literature. He must have been a man of some wealth and consideration, as his family was of long standing in Arpinum, and belonged to the Equestrian order³, and he was himself able to increase his estate and to provide handsomely for the education of his two sons, of whom Quintus was about

¹ Cic. *Brut.* 43.

² *Ep.* 651. 2, 296. 3. (*Att.* xiii. 42., vii. 5.)

³ *Ep.* 437. (*Div.* xiii. 10.); *De petit. Consul.* 4.

* The chronology of the present work follows that of Zumpt's *Annales* [*Annales veterum Regnorum et Populorum*], which place the building of Rome in the year 753 B. C., according to the system of Varro. [This is the system generally followed. See Clinton, *Fasti Hellen. et Roman.*; Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln*; Orelli, *Mem. Vit. Cic.*; Billerbeck, *Cic. Epist.* But Schütz, in his edition of Cicero's letters, follows the *Fasti Capitolini*, making the A. U. 1 = B. C. 752, and A. C. 1 = B. C. 106 = A. U. 647.]

or three years younger than Marcus.* He was, more-
 a well-disposed and sensible man, and of independent
 character. The mother, Helvia†, seems to have been of a
 family. Cicero was surrounded by relations both on
 his mother's side and that of his father, who exercised a great in-
 fluence over his active mind. Lucius, his father's brother,
 nearly connected with the great orator Antonius‡;
 his mother's sister was married to Aculeo, one of the
 distinguished lawyers of his time, and an intimate
 friend of Crassus, whose reputation as an orator equalled
 that of Antonius.§ The young Ciceros were brought up
 with the sons of Aculeo from the time they were removed
 from home. The son of his uncle Lucius, who bore the same
 name, was amongst the number of Marcus's most intimate
 friends.¹ His paternal grandfather was still living at the
 time of his birth, and appears to have been also an able
 man, of the ancient austere school, and possessed of some
 eminence in Arpinum. His grandson mentions him with
 great respect in many passages of his works.² The coun-
 try-seat at Arpinum was very pleasantly situated, so that
 Cicero's youth was most favourably endowed both morally
 and physically with the requisites for happiness. In his
 second Book *de Oratore*, he notices the effect produced
 on his mental culture by the characters of his surround-
 ings and relatives.

¹ *Ep.* i. (*Att.*
i. 5.)

² *De Legg.* ii.
1., iii. 16.; *de*
Orat. ii. 66.

*Hæc est mea et hujus fratris mei germana patria; hinc enim orti stirpe
 remotissima sumus; hic sacra, hic genus, hic majorum multa vestigia.* — *De*
Orat. ii. 1. This chapter, with *de Orat.*, i. 43., ii. 1., is the principal
 part of the above, and of part of the following.

2. Cicero, *Ep.* 855., (*Div.* xii. 26.) tells an odd anecdote of her, which
 presents her as a good housewife of the ancient stamp.

The grandfather of the triumvir.

Both orators are commemorated in Cicero's books *de Oratore*. See
Brut. 37. foll.

A. U. 649. B. C. 105. Cic. 2.

Consuls: P. RUTILIUS RUFUS; CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.

The second year of Cicero's life is marked by the severe defeat which the Consular Q. Cæpio and the Consul Mallius sustained in Gaul from the Cimbri.

A. U. 650. B. C. 104. Cic. 3.

C. MARIUS II.; C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

Marius celebrates his triumph over Jugurtha on January 1st, and then prepares for war against the Cimbri.

A. U. 651. B. C. 103. Cic. 4.

C. MARIUS III.; L. AURELIUS ORESTES.

A new servile war breaks out in Sicily (the first, under the slave king Eunus, had lasted from 619 to 623); and the insurgent chief Athenio defeats the Prætor C. Servilius Casca. The celebrated orator Antonius is sent against the Cilician pirates. He goes to Cilicia with consular power, and takes with him Lucius, the uncle of Cicero.¹ Marius remains with his army in Transalpine Gaul, still occupied in preparations for a desperate struggle with the migratory nations.

¹ *De Orat.* ii.
¹.

A. U. 652. B. C. 102. Cic. 5.

C. MARIUS IV.; Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Marius completely defeats the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquæ Sextiæ, whilst the Cimbri are advancing in the direction of Italy. In this year the poet Archias comes to Rome.

A. U. 653. B. C. 101. Cic. 6.

C. MARIUS V.; M'. AQUILLIUS.

Marius comes to the assistance of the Proconsul Ca-

tulus, and they both defeat the Cimbri near Verona; so that Rome is now secured from the attack of the Germans.

A. U. 654. B. C. 100. CIC: 7.

C. MARIUS VI.; L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

This year is marked by the disturbances excited by the Tribune L. Saturninus and the Prætor Glaucia. These daring men were at first secretly encouraged by Marius, but afterwards shaken off by him, and fell victims to their own rashness. Then also Q. Metellus displayed the aristocratic firmness which afterwards served Cicero so often for a pattern and ideal.* It may probably have been in this year that Cicero took up his residence in Rome, for in his speech for Archias he says, "as far as he can look back into his boyish years, he finds this man his guide to learning." The father, no doubt, had early become aware of the talents of his sons, and he hastened to procure for them the proper cultivation in Rome, where he possessed a house of his own. The orator Crassus conducted their education as well as that of their cousins the Aculeos^{1, 1} *De Orat. ii.* and provided tutors for them, of whose information he availed himself also.

Antonius bestowed some attention on the boy Cicero, and willingly answered the questions of the young enquirer after knowledge², whose extraordinary talents soon² *De Orat. ii.* began to excite astonishment in a wider circle. When¹ (A. U. 660) L. Plotius Gallus, an eminent rhetorician, opened a Latin school, and Cicero was desirous of enjoying the advantages of his instruction, he was prevented by the authority of men of learning, who pronounced Greek

* Q. Metellus Numidicus refused to swear obedience to the agrarian law of Saturninus, and retired into voluntary exile. Cicero refers to this unanimous act on several occasions. See particularly *pro Sest.* 47.; *pro Planc.* 36.; *de Rep.* i. 3. 6.

¹ Suet. *de Illus.*
Rhetor. 2., cf.
Quintil. *Inst.*
i. 1.; Gell.
xv. 11.

exercises to be a better training for the mind.¹ Cicero was instructed in the art of poetry by Archias. It is not certain to what years these circumstances should be specially assigned.

A. U. 655. B. C. 99. Cic. 8.

M. ANTONIUS (the Orator); A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.

M.?

The Proconsul M. Aquilius puts an end to the Servian war. The Optimates obtain a triumph in the recall of Metellus. But the same year witnesses the birth of that man who was destined to give the Roman world a new form, by the hands of the Romans themselves, and to raise himself to supreme power,—Caius Julius Cæsar.

A. U. 656. B. C. 98. Cic. 9.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS; T. DIDIUS.

The *Lex Cæcilia Didia* is passed: scil. *de Legibus promulgandis*.*

A. U. 657. B. C. 97. Cic. 10.

CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS; P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

The Censors L. Valerius Flaccus and M. Antonius the Orator take the census. The Proconsul T. Didius, and whom Q. Sertorius serves as Tribune, maintains a severe struggle against the Celtiberians in Spain.

A. U. 658. B. C. 96. Cic. 11.

CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS; C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

Ptolemy Apion having in his will appointed the Roman people heirs to his kingdom of Cyrene, the Senate declares it a free state.

* See the *Schol. Bob. ad Cic. pro Sest.* p. 310. Orell. Comp. Cic. *pro Sestio*, 64.; *pro domo*, 16.; *Philipp.* v. 3. 8.

A. U. 659. B. C. 95. CIC. 12.

L. LICINIUS CRASSUS (the Orator); L. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA (Pont. Max.).

The *Lex Liciniæ Mucia de civibus regundis* gives occasion remotely to the Social war.* u/

A. U. 660. B. C. 94. CIC. 13.

C. CÆLIUS CALDUS; L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS.

C. Norbanus is accused of treason, after the expiration of his tribunate, by P. Sulpicius Rufus, but is defended by M. Antonius the Orator, and though guilty is acquitted.

A. U. 661. B. C. 93. CIC. 14.

C. VALERIUS FLACCUS; M. HERENNIUS.

L. Sulla is Prætor. Didius and P. Crassus triumph as conquerors of the two provinces of Spain.

A. U. 662. B. C. 92. CIC. 15.

C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER; M. PERPERNA.

L. Sulla, Proprætor in Asia, reinstates Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, which country had been invaded by Mithridates, king of Pontus.

A. U. 663. B. C. 91. CIC. 16.

L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS; SEXT. JULIUS CÆSAR.

M. Livius, Tribune of the people, excites disturbances by an attempt to revive the laws of the Gracchi. He is killed while endeavouring to carry a law "*de civitate sociis*

* [Asconius in Cornel. p. 67. *Cum summa cupiditate civitatis Romanæ Italici populi tenerentur, et ob id magna pars eorum pro civibus Romanis se gereret, necessaria lex visa est, ut in suæ quisque civitatis jus redigeretur. Verum ea lege ita alienati sunt animi principum Italicorum populorum, ut vel maxima causa belli Italici, quod post triennium exortum est, fuerit.*]

danda." This gives occasion to the war which breaks out in this year.

Cicero places in this year the conversation which is contained in his books *de Oratore*. At this time also died the orator Crassus, an event which is finely described in

¹ *De Orat.* iii. that work.¹

^{12.}

Although Cicero occupied himself much with the art of poetry (his poem of Pontius Glaucus² is to be referred to this period*), he did not withdraw himself from severe studies.

A. U. 664. B. C. 90. C. C. 17.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR ; P. RUTILIUS LUPUS.

The social war is prosecuted with great vigour on both sides. The *Lex Julia* gives the right of citizenship to the Latins and some cities of Etruria. Mithridates invades Cappadocia and Bithynia, but is driven back by the legates M'. Aquillius and Manilius Mancinus.

³ *Brut.* 88.

In his *Brutus*³, Cicero says "*Hortensio florente, Crassus est mortuus, Cotta pulsus, judicia intermissa bello, nos in forum venimus.*" Crassus died on the 20th September of

⁴ *De Orat.* iii. the preceding year.⁴

^{2.}

C. Cotta was excluded from the Tribunate a few days after, and at the end of two months found himself compelled to leave the city. All this took place, therefore, at the end of the year 663, or in the beginning of 664; in which latter year the courts of justice were suspended. From this it appears probably that Cicero received the *Toga Virilis* in January of the year 664, on the completion of his sixteenth year, agreeably to custom, and that he began to attend the Forum at the commencement of his seventeenth year. His father now introduced him to the celebrated lawyer Quintus

* Probably also his heroic poem in praise of Marius. *De Legg.* i. 1.

Mucius Scævola the Augur¹, whom he never quitted. ¹ *De Amicit.* 1.; *Brut.* 89. After his death he first attached himself to the equally celebrated Pontifex Maximus of the same name.

It must have been at this time that Cicero translated the *Phenomena* and *Prognostica* of Aratus into Latin verse. We still possess some fragments of this composition.² ² *De Nat. Deor.* ii. 41. foll. The Epic poem, of which Marius was the hero³, was ³ *De Divin.* i. 47. certainly composed at a later period, but hardly posterior to the death of Sulla.* The Epicurean Phædrus was the teacher of philosophy most beloved by Cicero in the earliest years of his education.⁴

⁴ *Ep.* 197. 2.; *Div.* xiii. 1.

A. U. 665. B. C. 89. CIC. 18.

CN. POMPEIUS STRABO ; L. PORTIUS CATO.

The *Lex Plautia Papiria* confers the right of citizenship on the allied cities of Italy, with the exception of those of Samnium and Lucania. Meanwhile Mithridates has conquered and driven away Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

How various were the branches of education considered necessary to the youth of Rome, with regard to their public duties alone, we gather from the fact, that Cicero this year performed military service in the Social war, and in the army of the Consul Cnæus Pompeius, whose son was afterwards so famous. In one of the Philippics, he mentions a scene at which he was present in this war.†

* Of Cicero's poetry Quintilian says, *Carminibus utinam pepercisset, quæ non desierunt carpere maligni.* Quint. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 1. 21.

† [*Memini colloquia et cum acerrimis hostibus et cum gravissime dissensantibus civibus. Cn. Pompeius Sexti filius, consul, me præsentem, cum essem in ejus exercitu, cum P. Vettio Scatone, duce Marsorum, inter bina castra collocutus est. Quo quidem memini Sex. Pompeium, fratrem consulis, ad colloquium ipsum Roma venire; quem quum Scato salutasset, Quem te appellem? inquit. At ille, Voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem. Erat in illo colloquio æquitas; nullus timor, nulla suberat suspicio; mediocre etiam odium.* — *Philipp.* xii. 11.]

¹ *Brut.* 89.

The duration of his service, however, was probably but short; for in his *Brutus*¹, he says expressly, that in the year before the Consulate of Sulla and Pompeius (666), he was diligently employed in the study of the civil law under the tuition of Scaevola.

A. U. 666. B. C. 88. CIC. 19.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA ; L. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

The Social war is continued by L. Pompædus Silo, who, however, is defeated, with the Samnite army, by Servius Sulpicius. Partly in consequence of this victory, and partly also because the anxiety inspired by Mithridates induces the Romans to extend the franchise to all Italy, the war is brought to an end. The Consul Sulla is entrusted with the province of Asia, and with the prosecution of the Mithridatic war. The tribune P. Sulpicius obtains, by violent means, a decree for enrolling the new citizens among all the thirty-five tribes. He deprives Sulla of his province and command, and transfers them both to Marius. Sulla flies to his army, leads it against Rome, and overthrows the Sulpician enactments. Sulpicius is killed. Marius and his son are proscribed, and take to flight. Sulla now marches against Mithridates, who has made himself master of nearly the whole province of Asia.

² *Brut.* 89.; *de Nat. Deor.* i. 3.; *ad Div.* xiii. 1.

In this year the Academician Philo, with many Athenians of distinction flying from the disturbances consequent upon the Mithridatic war, comes to Rome, where Cicero devotes himself entirely to him, having embraced the study of philosophy with great ardour, since the ordinary forms of judicial process seemed to be entirely destroyed.² Meanwhile the harangues of the Tribune Sulpicius, which he heard daily, were important to him

from the insight they gave him into the arts of Demagogues.*¹

¹ Brut. 89.

A. U. 667. B. C. 87. CIC. 20.

CN. OCTAVIUS; L. CORNELIUS CINNA.

Archelaus, the admiral of Mithridates, was received with joy in Athens. Whilst Sulla consumes the whole year in the siege of this city and its harbours, the Consul Cinna follows out the designs of Sulpicius, but is expelled from Rome by his colleague Octavius, who stands at the head of the Optimates. Cinna raises an army in the south of Italy, joins Marius, and returns with him to Rome. In the proscription that follows, among other distinguished men, the orators M. Antonius, Q. Catulus, and C. Julius, are cruelly murdered.² Cicero's lamentation on this event merits attention.³ He himself was³ destined to experience the fate of M. Antonius, at the hands of the murdered man's grandson.

² Brut. 89.

³ De Orat. iii.

During this period of terror, Cicero remained quiet, and attended the lessons of the rhetorician Molo, of Rhodes, *actorem summum causarum et magistrum*.⁴ In order to perfect his style, he also continued to make translations from the Greek, as, for instance, from the *Œconomicus* of Xenophon.⁵

⁵ De Off. ii. 24.

A. U. 668. B. C. 86. CIC. 21.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA II.; C. MARIUS VII.

Sulla reduces Athens on the 1st of March. Afterwards he defeats the army of Mithridates, at Chæronea. Marius

* [Cicero himself throws no such disparagement upon them. His words are, *Tum Sulpicii in tribunatu quotidie concionantis totum genus dicendi penitus cognovimus*. Notwithstanding the defection of Sulpicius from the ranks of the Optimates, Cicero always speaks of his oratorical powers with the highest admiration. See particularly, *de Orat.* i. 29., iii. 8.; *de har. resp.* 19.; *Brut.* 49. 55.]

dies at the beginning of the year. The Consul substituted in his place, L. Valerius Flaccus, goes to Greece in order to extort the command from Sulla, who had already begun to treat with Archelaus.

About this time Cicero began to write upon the theory of the art of speaking, and it was perhaps as early as this that he composed the books *de Inventione* (more correctly *Rhetorica*), of which, at a later period, he disapproved. He is believed to speak of these in the *de Orat.* i. 2. [*Quæ pueris aut adolescentulis nobis ex commentariolis nostris inchoata de medio conciderunt.*] They form the beginning of a more comprehensive work, which, however, was never completed.*

A. U. 669. B. C. 85. CIC. 22.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA III.; CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

The consuls prepare at Rome for a contest with Sulla. Many of the principal inhabitants fly to Greece to join him. Flaccus being killed by his mutinous soldiery, C. Fimbria conducts the war against Mithridates, on the part of the Marians, and with success.

A. U. 670. B. C. 84. CIC. 23.

CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO II.; L. CORNELIUS CINNA IV.

The Consul Cinna being about to sail to Asia, to

* See Ersch and Grüber's *Encycl.* art. Cicero, pp. 207, 208., which contains also the judgment of the learned on the four books *ad Herennium*, which were formerly ascribed by some to Cicero. Hand, the writer of this article, esteems it probable that these books and those *de Inventione*, which have much in common, are mutually borrowed from a teacher's compendium, the teacher being some Latin rhetorician; the books *ad Herennium* he supposes, from iv. 54., to be composed after the other. Schütz, in his Prolegomena to Cicero's Rhetorical Works, imagines that they may be attributed to Guipho. (Suet. *de cl. Gramm.* 7.) [The English reader is referred upon this and similar questions to Prof. Ramsay's article on Cicero in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography.*]

oppose Sulla, is put to death by his soldiers at Ancona. Sulla concludes a peace with Mithridates in Asia, and then passes over into Greece.

Cicero prosecutes his studies with great diligence. He applies himself in particular to Dialectics¹ under the¹ *Brut.* 90. tuition of the Stoic Diodotus, whom he takes into his own house (where Diodotus afterwards died²). He never² *Ep.* 46. (*Att.* 11. 20.) passed a day without exercising himself in oratory. He declaimed chiefly in Greek, but occasionally also in his mother tongue.

A. U. 671. B. C. 83. CIC. 24.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO ; C. JULIUS NORBANUS.

Sulla lands at Brundisium, the Consuls with Sertorius and the younger Marius having meanwhile assembled a powerful army against him. He defeats the Consul Norbanus at Canusium ; the army of Scipio goes over to him, and Pompeius brings him troops which he has raised in Picenum. The Capitol is struck by lightning and consumed.

A. U. 672. B. C. 82. CIC. 25.

C. MARIUS ; CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO III.

Sulla is completely victorious over the Marians, in Italy, while Pompeius, taking his side, defeats Carbo in Gaul, and captures and puts him to death in Sicily ; (the following year Pompeius is in Africa, where he conquers Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus). The Consul Marius, son of C. Marius, at the age of twenty-six, kills himself in Præneste, and this city surrenders. Sulla proscribes the Marians, and is made dictator for life. Pompeius becomes his son-in-law.

A. U. 673. B. C. 81. Cic. 26.

M. TULLIUS DECULA ; CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

¹ Brut. 90.*Leges et judicia constituta ; recuperata respublica.*¹

Sulla restores the *judicia* to the senate ; limits the power of the Tribunes ; triumphs over Mithridates.

About this time Cicero makes his first appearance as a *legal advocate* ; he delivers in *causa privata* the speech for P. Quintius which we still possess.

A. U. 674. B. C. 80. Cic. 27.

L. CORNELIUS SULLA II. ; Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

Nola surrenders, having been till now defended by the Samnites ; and thus the civil war is ended. Sulla founds twenty-three colonies for his veterans. Sertorius maintains the Marian cause in Spain. Pompeius triumphs over Hiarbas of Numidia, who had given assistance to Domitius.

Cicero defends Sextus Roscius of Ameria, accused of parricide. *Prima causa publica, pro Sex. Roscio dicta, tantum commendationis habuit, ut non ulla esset, quæ non digna nostro patrocínio videretur.*²

² Brut. 90.

We are in possession of this speech, and the treatise *de Off.* ii. 14. may be referred to in proof of its boldness.*

* [“Cicero’s courage in defending and obtaining the acquittal of Roscius, under the circumstances in which it was undertaken, was applauded by the whole city. By this public opposition to the avarice of the agent of Sulla, who was then in the plenitude of his power, and by the energy with which he resisted the oppressive proceeding, he fixed his character for a fearless and zealous patron of the injured, as much as for an accomplished orator. The defence of Roscius, which acquired him so much reputation in his youth, was remembered by him with such delight in his old age, that he recommends to his son, as the surest path to true honour, to defend those who are unjustly oppressed, as he himself had done in many causes, but particularly in that of Roscius of Ameria, whom he had protected against Sulla himself in the height of his authority.”—Dunlop, *Hist. of Rom. Lit.* ii. 279.]

To the same epoch should perhaps be referred the speech for the murderer Varrenus, who, however, was not acquitted. We have only fragments of it.

Cicero again attends the Rhodian Molo, who was come as ambassador from his city, to procure from the senate a reward for its fidelity.¹

¹ Brut. 90.

A. U. 675. B. C. 79. CIC. 29. 8/

L. SERVILIUS VATA ; APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Sulla resigns the dictatorship.

At this time, or at all events before his journey into Greece, Cicero defended the cause of a woman of Arretium, who had been refused the enjoyment of complete citizenship, against Cotta, the most renowned advocate of the day.² Here, as in the defence of Roscius, he exposed himself to the displeasure of Sulla; for the suit was connected with the circumstance of Sulla having deprived the Arretines of the right of Roman *civitas*.

² Pro Cæc. 33.

After this Cicero took a journey into Greece, not, as Plutarch asserts³, from fear of Sulla, for his speech in favour of Roscius is a proof to the contrary, but in order to perfect himself in his art, and to acquire a manner of delivery which might adapt itself to his want of bodily vigour.*⁴ He came to Athens, and first devoted himself for six months to philosophy, under Antiochus of Ascalon,

³ Plut. Cic. 3.

⁴ Brut. 91.

* [Erat eo tempore in nobis summa gracilitas et infirmitas corporis; proceram et tenue collum: qui habitus et quæ figura non procul abesse putatur a vitæ periculo si accedit labor et laterum magna contentio. Eoque magis hoc eos quibus eram carus commovebat, quod omnia sine remissione, sine varietate, vi summa vocis et totius corporis contentione dicebam. Itaque quum me et amici et medici hortarentur, ut causas agere desisterem, quodvis potius periculum mihi adeundum quam a sperata dicendi gloria discedendum putavi. Sed quum censerem remissione et moderatione vocis, et commutato genere dicendi, me et periculum vitare posse et temperatius dicere, et consuetudinem dicendi mutarem ea causa mihi in Asiam proficiscendi fuit.]

¹ *Brut.* l. c.; *Plut. Cic.* 4. the most eminent teacher of the old academy.¹ His brother Quintus, his cousin Lucius, and T. Pomponius
² *De Fin.* v. 1. Atticus studied there with him.² At the same time he
³ *Brut.* l. c. practised oratory under Demetrius Syrus.³ He also attended the lectures of the Epicureans Zeno and Phædrus, in order to gain a deeper insight into their system, and
⁴ *De Fin.* i. 5., v. 1. for the sake of Atticus, who attached himself to it.⁴

A. U. 676. B. C. 78. CIC. 29.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS ; Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

Sulla dies at the age of sixty. The consul, M. Lepidus, attempts to change his ordinances, but is prevented by his colleague, and retires to his province of Transalpine Gaul, where he threatens war. Q. Metellus carries on war against Sertorius, who has well nigh succeeded in establishing an independent kingdom in Spain.

Cicero travels through Asia, and practises his art under Menippus of Stratonice, at that time the most famous orator of that country ; at the same time he visits Dionysius of Magnesia, Æschylus of Cnidus, and Xenocles of Adramyttium, whom he reckons amongst the best rhetoricians of Asia.⁵ After this he practises once more under Molo of Rhodes, with whose assistance he rids himself of the youthful exaggeration and redundancy of ornament which still adhered to his style.⁶ He attends also at Rhodes the Stoic Posidonius.⁷

⁵ *Brut.* 91.
⁶ *Brut.* l. c.
De Nat. Deor. i. 3.;
Plut. Cic. 4.

A. U. 677. B. C. 77. CIC. 30.

D. JUNIUS BRUTUS ; MAM. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

At the Milvian bridge, Q. Catulus, as proconsul, defeats M. Lepidus, who was marching against Rome. Defeated a second time in Etruria, he is compelled to retreat into Sardinia, where he soon after dies. A portion of his

army goes over to Sertorius, in Spain. Pompeius is sent thither, equal in authority with Metellus, but at first is not successful.

Cicero returns to Rome, *non modo exercitator, sed prope mutatus*, physically as well as mentally.¹ At that time¹ Brut. 91. Cotta and Hortensius were distinguishing themselves beyond all other orators in Rome.² The latter was eight² Brut. 91. years older than Cicero.

In this year, probably, Cicero married Terentia; a person, apparently, of good family. Her sister Fabia was one of the vestal Virgins.³

³ Ascon. ad
Or. in Toga
cand.

A. U. 678. B. C. 76. CIC. 31.

CN. OCTAVIUS; C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

Sertorius, supported by the inhabitants of the country, holds out valiantly in Spain against Metellus and Pompeius. The Tribunes, especially Sicinius, endeavour to recover the powers of which Sulla had deprived them. The Consuls and the Senate resist them. Sicinius is slain in a tumult.

Cicero delivers several orations⁴, and among others⁴ Brut. 92. one, which is still extant, in defence of Roscius the comedian, from whom, as well as from the tragedian Æsopus, he had taken lessons in delivery.⁵ Then, having arrived⁵ Plut. Cic. 5. at the age fixed by law (*anno suo* *), he is appointed

* [These words are not quoted from Cicero, but are Abeken's own explanation. Wex, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1844, translated in the *Class. Mus.* No. 10., supposes the phrase to refer to the statutable interval between the different offices, rather than the age at which each might be held. It is not clear what was the statutable age for each of the great offices under the republic; but if, according to the analogy of the offices in the municipia, which is ascertained from the *tabula Heracleensis*, the *ætās quæstoria* was thirty years complete, Cicero became quæstor at the earliest time allowed by law, being in his thirty-first year (complete all but three days) on Jan. 1, 679. He afterwards entered upon the ædileship, prætorship, and

Quæstor, and the province of Lilybæum, in Sicily, falls to him by lot. Hortensius obtains the Ædileship.¹

¹ *Brut.* l. c.

A. U. 679. B. C. 75. CIC. 32.

L. OCTAVIUS ; C. AURELIUS COTTA.

The Tribunes recover the right of suing for the chief magistracies. Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans by its King Mithridates, is constituted a province. P. Servilius annexes Cilicia to the Republic by force of arms. The contest with Sertorius is continued. Mithridates prepares to renew the war. Cicero administers the quæstorship under the Prætor Sext. Peducæus.²

² *In Verr.*
Act. 2. lib. v.
14.; *Brut.* 29.

A. U. 680. B. C. 74. CIC. 33.

L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS ; M. AURELIUS COTTA.

Mithridates invades Asia with a large force. The war against him is entrusted to the consul Lucullus by land, and to his colleague by sea.

Metellus and Pompeius are almost compelled by Sertorius to abandon Spain. Mithridates besieges Cyzicus, but is blockaded by Lucullus. Cicero returns to Rome from Sicily.³

³ *Pro Planc.*
26, 27.

A. U. 681. B. C. 73. CIC. 34.

M. TERENTIUS VARRO ; C. CASSIUS VARUS.

Mithridates, having lost nearly the whole of his army by

consulship in succession, in his thirty-seventh, fortieth, and forty-third years respectively ; and as he speaks of these as being held each *nostro anno*, we may deduce from them both the legal intervals and the legal age. The consular age he fixes to the forty-third year by a passage in his *Philipp.* v. 17.: *Macedo Alexander nonne tertio et vicesimo anno mortem obiit quæ est ætas nostris legibus decem minor quam consularis.* The *Lex Villia Annalis* which assigned these epochs was A. U. 574. But that this law was not strictly adhered to appears from the case of Julius Cæsar, who was born 655, prætor 692, æt. 37, consul 695, æt. 40.]

famine, flies to the sea, where his fleet is destroyed by a storm. The Servile war breaks out in Italy, under the conduct of Spartacus. C. Verres, in this and the two next years, carries on, as Proprætor, his maladministration of Sicily. Cicero, during the same period, is actively engaged in the Forum.

A. U. 682. B. C. 72. CIC. 35.

L. GELLIUS POPLICOLA ; CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.

Successes of Spartacus.

Sertorius is murdered by his mutinous soldiers, after maintaining himself for eight years. Perperna, succeeding to his position, is overcome and killed by Pompeius. Lucullus enters Pontus, and besieges Amisus. Cotta besieges Heraclea.

A. U. 683. B. C. 71. CIC. 36.

CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES ; P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.

M. Crassus, as Prætor, is successful against the slaves. Spartacus is slain, and the remnant of his followers destroyed soon afterwards by Pompeius, on his return from Spain. M. Antonius (father of the Triumvir), abusing the authority committed to him for the defence of the coast, is defeated by the Cretans and slain. Lucullus, having left Murena behind at Amisus, engages Mithridates in Cappadocia. He is unsuccessful at first ; but defeats the enemy while making his retreat. Triumph of Metellus and Pompeius over Spain.

A. U. 684. B. C. 70. CIC. 37.

M. LICINIUS CRASSUS ; CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS (*legibus solutus* *).

The consuls restore the tribunitian power. By the

* [Pompeius was exempted from the *Lex Annalis*, and became consul in his thirty-seventh year, having served none of the curule magistracies, and

Lex Aurelia, the Senate, the Knights, and the ærarian Tribunes acquire equal participation in the *Judicia publica*. Lucullus takes Amisus and Sinope, together with some other cities. Cotta reduces Heraclea, and gives it up to plunder. Mithridates flies to Tigranes, king of Armenia, at that time ruler of the greatest part of Syria.

Cicero, elected Ædile, impeaches Verres as patron of the Sicilians; thus, for the first and only time, appearing in the character of accuser. By his speech entitled *Divinatio*, he succeeded in setting aside another accuser in the person of Q. Cæcilius, and thus got the entire management of the cause into his own hands. He placed great confidence in his oratorical skill, which he considered now to have attained its maturity.¹ He made a journey into Sicily in order to prepare for this most important process, and visited every part of the island. On the 7th of August he opened the cause, in a speech of which we only possess the introduction, briefly pointing out the crimes of Verres. The accused, being deserted by his patron Hortensius, suddenly withdrew into voluntary exile; and Cicero, for his own justification, detailed his charges at length in five books, which are still extant.²

In this year Virgil was born.

A. U. 685. B. C. 69. Cic. 38.

Q. HORTENSIVS ; Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS CRETIVS.

Lucullus crosses the Euphrates, and besieges Tigranocerta, the capital of Tigranes. The latter advances to its relief, and is signally defeated. Tigranocerta is taken. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus having been rebuilt, is dedicated by Q. Catulus.

not obtained thereby a place in the Senate : *adhuc Romanus eques*.—Lucan, *Phars.* vii. init. He was born A. U. 648, in the same year as Cicero, but nine months later.]

¹ *Brut.* 92.

² *Orator.* 29.
62.

icero, being Ædile this year, gives the customary
es in a style of moderate display.¹ He defends M. ^{*Pro Mur.*}
teius, accused on the ground of illegal conduct in the ^{*19. ; De Off.*}
ince of Gaul. We possess fragments only of this ^{*ii. 17.*}
ch. Probably to this year also belongs the speech for
ina *in causa civili*; and also that for P. Oppius. [The
ch for M. Tullius is assigned by Drumann, *Gesch.*
is, v. 258., to A. U. 683, B. C. 71.]

BOOK I.

LETTERS OF CICERO,

WRITTEN BEFORE HIS CONSULATE,

IN THE YEARS

686 TO 689.

CICERO ASPIRING TO POLITICAL EMINENCE.

BOOK I.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 686. B. C. 68. CIC. 39.

L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS ; Q. MARCUS REX.

LUCULLUS besieging Artaxata is stopped in his operations by a mutiny in his camp. He retreats, takes Nisibis, and, whilst he remains there in winter quarters, Mithridates reconquers Lesser Armenia. The Proconsul Q. Metellus subdues Crete.

Cicero's letters begin with this year.

A. U. 687. B. C. 67. CIC. 40.

C. CALPURNIUS PISO ; M'. ACILIUS GLABRIO.

Mithridates enters Pontus, defeats the legate Triarius, and resumes possession of his kingdom. Lucullus turns his arms against Tigranes, but is deserted by his army on the approach of his newly appointed successor, the Consul M'. Glabrio. The soldiers, however, refuse to obey Glabrio likewise, and he gives proofs of incapacity. The Tribune Gabinius passes a law conferring on Pompeius, who was then in Asia, the command of the war against the Pirates, with very extensive powers.

A. U. 688. B. C. 66. CIC. 41.

M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS ; L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.

This war with the pirates, begun only in the spring, is

brought to a speedy conclusion in the summer. In accordance with the *lex Manilia*, Pompeius now receives the command of the Mithridatic war, and the aspect of affairs soon changes. Mithridates, defeated on the banks of the Euphrates, at the place called afterwards Nicopolis, takes refuge in Colchis. Tigranes submits to Pompeius and recovers his kingdom with some diminution.

In this year Cicero was Prætor.

A. U. 689. B. C. 65. CIC. 42.

L. AURELIUS COTTA ; L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Pompeius pursues Mithridates, who retires to his kingdom on the Bosphorus. He conquers the Albanians. He then returns to Pontus, which he constitutes a province. Deiotarus, Tetrarch in Galatia, receives the Lesser Armenia. Horace is born this year.

The eleven letters of Cicero which have come down to us, belonging to this period, are all addressed to his friend Atticus, who was then residing partly in Epirus, where he possessed considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Buthrotum, partly in his favourite city of Athens. He was in the latter place in the year with which these letters commence.¹

¹ *Ep.* 1, 3.
(*Att.* i. 5.)

The Commonwealth was approaching nearer and nearer to the catastrophe which was destined to subject it to the dominion of a single man, the ambitious Cæsar, marked out alike by nature and circumstances to be the ruler of Rome. Pompeius was as yet unconscious that, by the measure of his first Consulate² in favour of the Tribunes, whose importance had been so much diminished by Sulla, he had restored to them a power which his greater adversary would one day turn to his destruction. In the year 686 the reverses experienced by Lucullus in Asia gave scope to the rising popularity

² A. U. 684.

of Pompeius, who had already, in early life, received from Sulla the surname of "*the Great*," and who, up to this period, and long after, might well be designated the child of Fortune. The law of the Tribune Gabinius had already invested him with command over the entire Mediterranean, together with the coasts far inland, to enable him to prosecute with vigour the war against the pirates, who at that time disturbed the peace and welfare of the State. The following year, this authority received yet further extension, the conduct of operations against Mithridates being entrusted to him by the law of another Tribune, Manilius. The Tribunes had indeed every motive for gratitude towards one who was the restorer of their power, and from whom there was yet much to hope; while for the same reason, Hortensius, Catulus, and other chiefs of the Senate set themselves to oppose the measure.¹ Cicero, however, who was at that time Prætor, and Cæsar also, exerted all their influence in its support; and Cicero's speech on the occasion proves that Pompeius could have wished for no abler patron. In fact, it was on Pompeius that Cicero rested his own hopes of advancement, of whom he says in his speech, that the gods had bestowed him on the Roman world by an act of special favour. He was drawn towards Pompeius by a feeling of personal attachment, which, ill as it was often requited, frequent as were the shocks it sustained, was yet never wholly extinguished in him. Moreover, he regarded him as a main support of the public welfare; and great indeed was the military lustre by which at that time Pompeius was surrounded. The restoration of the tribunitian power, it is true, could not have given Cicero any satisfaction; for his utmost efforts had been directed to bind the equestrian and senatorial ranks more closely together, in order to counterbalance the influence

¹ *Pro Lege Manil.* 17. 20. Compare *Dio Cass.* xxxvi, 26.

of the people, and he had highly approved of the law of L. Roscius Otho¹, which gave the knights reserved seats of honour in the theatre.² He might, besides, already foresee, that Pompeius would have no power to crush the Tribunes, should they eventually turn against him. This is intimated in the grounds he subsequently adduces in favour of the restorer of the tribunitian power, against the arguments of his brother Quintus, in his book *De Legibus*³; but he there suppresses the circumstance that the assistance of the Tribunes and of the people was necessary to Pompeius for his own advancement. Cicero's principles, however, were perhaps not fixed before the period of his Consulate; and it is certain that in many instances he courted the people as long as that highest dignity was still the object of his ambition. He was besides well assured that, should an open struggle again take place between the people and the men of wealth and consideration, Pompeius would stand on the side of those who still cherished a sense of the ancient dignity of the Republic.⁴ This conviction he did in effect see justified at a later period, but under circumstances which must needs have overthrown the hopes he had built upon it.

Meanwhile, in judging of the speech in support of Manilius, we must not forget that Pompeius was in truth the man whom Rome then needed for the successful termination of the war against Mithridates. Lucullus had been deserted by his soldiers, and was hated by the democrats in Rome. Mithridates and Tigranes were again in possession of their states, and as powerful as ever, whilst Glabrio, who had been appointed by the Senate in the preceding year to succeed Lucullus, and was now in Asia, was no match for them. But Pompeius, present there in the full splendour of his fame, and idolized by his army, was regarded as a sure pledge of victory.

¹ A. U. 687.

² *Pro Mur.* 19.

³ *De Leg.* iii. 11.

⁴ *Ep.* 284, 2. (*Att.* vii. 1.)

The eleven letters of this period contain nothing relating to public affairs, with the exception of the measures taken by Cicero in his suit for the Consulship. To this object he was impelled by his natural aspirations for greatness, with which was closely associated his love for his country; and these motives were powerful enough to outweigh the distaste for public life produced by the progressive deterioration of the age, and his strong predilection for ease and for literary occupations. The strength of this latter feeling is vividly depicted in the letters above referred to. "Sell," he writes to Atticus¹, in the year 687, "sell to none but me the books you have had transcribed; keep them, as you have promised, for me alone. Books I love above all things, and I begin to loathe public affairs. It is scarcely credible how much these have changed for the worse during the short period of your absence." We need not here stop to describe in what this general deterioration consisted, and how by cabals and intrigues all the relations of the State had become so disorganized, that it was no longer possible, by law, to check the licence, rapine and violence universally prevailing. The tale has often been told, and the collective letters of Cicero furnish the most striking evidence of the corruption of the times in which they were written. This corruption is peculiarly apparent in the administration of justice: how far this had gone, is proved by the law, issued in the year 687, by the Tribune C. Cornelius, which was the foundation of the *edicta perpetua*.* This Tribune, already noted as the author of a law against bribery in canvassing, and for his endeavours to check the practice of usury in the provinces, had shortly

¹ Ep. 7, 3.
(Att. 1. 11.)

* Namely, that the Prætors should not deviate in the administration of civil law from the form promulgated by themselves on their entrance into office. Ascon. in Cornel, p. 58.; Orell., Dio Cass. xxxvi. 23.

before struck at the heart of the nobles, by an edict enacting that the power of suspending the laws in particular cases, hitherto arbitrarily wielded by the Senate, should in future be exercised only with the consent of the people. This, in fact, had been the original rule ; but of late so far had the abuse gone, that a small number of senators only was deemed sufficient to decree the suspension of a law. We are astonished to find that, in the year 689, this same Cornelius was accused of treason. Hortensius, L. Catulus, L. Lucullus, Metellus Pius and M. Lepidus gave testimony against him, and this under pretence of upholding the tribunitian power, to which it was said Cornelius had given a blow. We see to what means the aristocrats were forced to resort, in order to support themselves against the growing strength of the demagogues.* Cornelius no doubt had aroused their apprehensions. Cicero defended him for four successive days, and afterwards published his defence in two treatises (*actiones**), mentioned both by himself and by Quintilian with great praise.¹ But we are tempted to ask whether Cicero, *after* he had gained the Consulship, would not rather have ranged himself on the side of the Tribune's opponents. In his speech against Vatinius, he certainly gives us to understand that his defence contributed greatly to the successful issue of his

¹ Quint. *Inst.*
Or. iv. 3. 13.,
viii. 3. 3.;
Cic. *Orat.* 67.
70.

² *In Vatini.* 2. own suit.²

He had now practical experience of the cabals by which the candidates for public office were harassed. He thus complains, in the year when he was preparing to solicit for the Prætorship: "No people in Rome are more worried in these days than the candidates; every kind of injustice is permitted towards them."³ We need only call to mind

³ *Ep.* 7, 2.
(*Att.* i. 11.)

* Unfortunately these are lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved by Asconius. The argument, as given by this commentator, is a very important document.

the wealth amassed in Italy by so many conquests, and confined to a few possessors only, together with the violence and rapacity of the provincial governors*; it is well known, also, in what condition Lucullus found Asia but a few years before.† How fatally these evils must have reacted upon Rome, is evident; nor can we fail to perceive, that the needy and licentious multitude must have become continually an easier instrument in the hands of the rich and powerful, while the misleaders themselves could have been no better than the misled.

And even thus does Cicero at the outset describe¹ the stage on which we are to see him feel, think, act and suffer. Numerous letters, and those to Atticus especially, evince more powerfully than even his books and speeches, how painfully he felt the diseased state of his country. He was grieved also to find that, in order to accomplish ends which were, generally speaking, pure and noble, he had to make common cause with men for the most part greatly his inferiors, sometimes even with such as were utterly worthless; a circumstance from which alone the impossibility of his success might have been augured.

¹ *Ep.* 7, 2.
(*Att.* i. 11.)

* From numerous passages it is sufficient to select a single one referring to this period. See *pro Leg. Manil.* 22.; comp. 13.

† [See *Plut. Lucul.* iv. 7. 20. "Lucullus now turned to the cities of Asia, in order that, while he had leisure from military operations, he might pay some attention to justice and the law, which the provinces had now felt the want of for a long time; and the people had endured unspeakable and incredible calamities, being plundered and reduced to slavery by the publicani and the money-lenders, so that individuals were compelled to sell their handsome sons and virgin daughters, and the cities to sell their sacred offerings, pictures, and statues. The lot of the citizens was at last to be condemned to slavery themselves. . . . Such evils as these Lucullus discovered in the cities, and in a short time he relieved the sufferers from all of them. . . . The lenders, however, considered themselves very ill used, and they raised an outcry against Lucullus at Rome, and endeavoured to bribe some of the demagogues to attack him, &c."]

In order to form an unprejudiced judgment of the Roman world at this time, we must always bear in mind the vast, we may say unwieldy, proportions which the State had by degrees obtained. Now, when Rome had pressed forward victoriously in the south, east, and west, and when she had tested the feebleness of the princes of Africa, and when Asiatic despots with all their pomp bowed down before her, was it to be wondered at, that a Roman general or senator, a proconsul, or even a legate, should feel himself exalted above the level of kings? The Roman citizen had become a prince, and issued his commands with an authority more unlimited than that of our monarchs. Cato himself thought it but reasonable that Antioch should greet him as a king when he entered it on foot, although the honour was one he despised for its own sake. He was only displeased that the city should have lavished a similar mark of respect upon a freedman of Pompeius.¹ We shall see in the course of our narrative, with what dignity Cicero's office as proconsul entitled him to appear before the ruler of Cappadocia, and other princes.

¹ Plut. Cat.
min. 13.

The wealth which was now poured into Rome exceeds all our ideas: it ministered to an unbounded luxury and ostentation; for the Roman was destitute of that fine sense of art and proportion which characterized the Greeks; it ministered, above all, to the ambitious efforts of individuals to acquire power and sovereignty. The circumstance that commerce was held to be dishonourable explains why the whole trade of Rome was transacted by foreigners, while the hoards amassed by knights and senators through extortion and plunder were withdrawn from all the channels by which production is stimulated, and the common stores of mankind increased. We must not, however, leave unnoticed the brighter side of

this dark picture. No age has ever developed such brilliant talents for command as that which we are now contemplating. We look with wonder upon a Pompeius, whom, when still but a youth, Sulla considered equal to the most important employments, and deserving of signal honours; but our astonishment is increased at beholding a Cæsar outshining even him in genius and success. Many there were besides, whom other times less prolific in great men would have regarded with admiration. And are not Cicero and his works of themselves sufficient evidence that intellectual culture of a high order had struck root in the Roman world?

It is touching to see a great and noble mind, unwilling either to give up hope for the State, or to renounce its service when sensible of its corruption, turning with fond desire to regions over which human crimes can have no influence; regions through which it can range with unfettered liberty, and gain strength in the exertion of its powers. Such were the aspirations of Cicero at this period. While he was a candidate for the Prætorship, and during his administration of that office, amidst the measures he was taking to attain the summit of his earthly ambition¹, his darling thought and most delightful occupation was the adornment of his Tusculan villa* (acquired^{6. (Att. l. 9. 8. al.)} probably a short time previously), particularly of that part which he calls his academy or gymnasium.

Averting his reflections from the gloomy times before him, and refreshing himself with the thoughts of days to

* This had once been in the possession of Sulla. One part of the building represented the *Academia* of Plato; another was called the *Lycæum*. It received its name from the town of Tusculum, now Frascati, on the Alban Mount. It was about twelve miles from Rome; but the city was easily discernible from it. The exact spot on which it stood cannot be now ascertained.

come, when he might be able to devote himself to his studies in undisturbed leisure, he endeavoured to provide this his favourite abode "which he delighted in so much that it was only when there that he felt truly happy," with all, that in the Roman sense constituted the genuine "*otium cum dignitate*."* In the letters with which our collection opens, he exhorts his friend Atticus to bear his Tusculum in mind, and to send him whatever he might meet with in Greece calculated to adorn or enrich it; and great is his satisfaction on receiving any such treasure. The sentiment expressed by Horace,

*"O Rus quando ego te aspiciam? quandoque licebit
Nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis
Ducere sollicitæ jucunda oblivis vitæ?"*

was that which Cicero now felt: except that he did not participate in the poet's desire for sleep, and for hours of mere idleness. "Take care," he writes to Atticus, "not to promise your library to any one, whatever ardent admirers it may find. I am hoarding up all my little savings, in the hope of purchasing it for the comfort of my old age."†¹

¹ *Ep.* 6. (*Att.* 1. 10.) Comp.
3, 3. 7, 3.
(*Att.* 1. 7. 11.)

In this spot, so favoured by nature, as often as his public duties permitted, Cicero forgot for a while, amidst his literary avocations, the evils of the State, and the cares under the pressure of which he had to maintain and advance his position there.

The sixth letter of our collection, written in 687, is

* [*Dignitas*, in the Roman sense, is the consideration a man enjoys among his fellow citizens for his political importance. *Otium cum dignitate* is, therefore, "an honourable retirement."]

† Cicero alludes to the books which Atticus caused his slaves to copy. His friend kept skilful slaves, and understood how to turn their industry to his pecuniary advantage. *Corn. Nep. Vit. Att.* 13.

dated from thence. In this year he was chosen Prætor for the next ensuing; and so great was his reputation with the people and their leaders, that when the comitia were thrice held for the election of Prætors, and twice came to no result, on account probably of the tumults excited by the law of the Tribune C. Cornelius, although his competitors were men of great consideration, he was each time unanimously placed first.¹ In this office it was his business to inquire into the illegal proceedings of the provincial governors.²

¹ *Pro Lege Man. 1.; In Pis. 1.; Brut. 93.; Plut. Cic. 9.*

² *Pro Rabir. Post. 4.; Fragm. Or. pro Corn. ap. Ascon. 1.*

In the ninth letter he makes mention of C. Macer, who, being thus accused under Cicero's *prætorian auspices*, was condemned in spite of the intercession of Crassus. He thus writes to Atticus³: "I have brought the business of C. Macer to an end, with the marked approbation of the people. I have done him strict justice; nevertheless, by his condemnation, I have excited so strong a feeling in my favour as far to outweigh any benefit I might have looked for from himself, had I acquitted him." * In the same letter he mentions his speech for the Manilian law, by far the most important of those he delivered as Prætor. It has given occasion to the charge of flattery against him; and it must be owned that it exhibits him as an unscrupulous panegyrist of Pompeius; but to form an opinion of a man's character from his political speeches is even more unsafe than to judge of a poet's morals from his works. However, it is not our object to represent Cicero

³ *Ep. 9, 2. (Att. i. 4.)*

* Plutarch (*Cic. 9.*) relates that Macer, confident in his own influence and that of his relative Crassus, had laid aside his mourning garb before the case was decided, and thought fit to present himself in the Forum in ordinary habiliments. Crassus had there met him with the tidings of his condemnation, upon which he had betaken himself to his house, fallen sick, and died of fear and mortification. Valerius Maximus (*ix. 12.*) tells the story differently. On Macer's character as an orator see *Cic. Brut. 67.*

as spotless; the progress of our work will prevent any such misapprehension.

While still Prætor, he defended (in a speech now extant) A. Cluentius Avitus, who had been accused before the Prætor Q. Naso of poisoning his father-in-law. His defence of M. Fundanius also occurred in this year; and shortly before the close of his Prætorship, that of the already disgraced Tribune Manilius, who was accused of rapine and extortion. This latter process, however, was interrupted by the disturbances attendant on the entry of the new Consuls into office.* In the midst of his constant occupations in the Forum, Cicero found time to attend the school of oratory held by M. Antonius Gnipho.†¹

¹ Suet. de
Illustr.
Gramm. 7.

The cause of the above-mentioned disturbances was as follows:—In the year 688, P. Autronius and P. Sulla had been nominated Consuls, but being convicted of bribery, they were not admitted to the office; L. Cotta and L. Torquatus being chosen in their place. P. Autronius allied himself with L. Catilina and some others for the purpose of assassinating their successful competitors. Catilina was at that time excluded from the right of suing for the Consulship, lying as he did under a charge of malversation in his province.‡ Crassus and Cæsar were also suspected of collusion with the conspirators; the former, it was said, was to have been made dictator by them, and the latter his master of the horse. The plan failed, having been twice very near execution; but

* Plut. Cic. 9. Comp. Dio Cass. xxxvi. 27. The latter differs considerably from the former. But the way in which Plutarch narrates the circumstance seems quite natural, and corresponds with Cicero's relation to Pompeius. Dio is notorious for his bitter hostility to Cicero.

† The defence of C. Corn. Gallus, of which we have only some fragments remaining, belongs to the year 689.

‡ Catilina had been Prætor in Africa, A.U. 687.

it nourished in Catilina the rage and hatred which broke out afterwards under the Consulate of Cicero.*

Having filled the office of Prætor, Cicero had claims to the administration of a province: but this object did not lie so near his heart as the attainment of his Consulate; and being a *homo novus*, it was requisite for his success that he should not leave Rome.¹ In the capital alone^{1 Pro Mur. 20.} could his distinguished talents be of service to him; and he felt besides a deep concern for the welfare of his country, together with a proud and well founded confidence in himself, which led him to hope that he might ward off, or at least suspend for a while, the ruin that threatened it. Accordingly, in the year 689, he began to sue for the Consulship; not that he would have been able to hold this office in the following year, for it was necessary that two years at least should intervene between the Prætorship and the Consulship; but it was usual for the candidate for the supreme dignity to show himself familiarly among the citizens of Rome the year before his regular and formal solicitation, and to strive to recommend himself to them.† In the tenth letter we find this practice noticed.² From^{2 Ep. 10. (Att. 1. 1.)} it we discover how much confidence (and justly, as the issue proved) Cicero placed in the favour of the people, as well as the measures which he took for attaining his object. Other circumstances were propitious to him besides the affection of the citizens.³ Catilina, the most enter-^{3 Pro Mur. 20.}prising of his competitors, had been impeached by P. Clodius: his guilt was manifest, and therefore, although Crassus, and Cæsar, then Ædile, supported him in this second application for the Consulship, there was nothing

* Sall. *Cat.* 18, 19.; Suet. *Jul.* 9.; Dio Cass. xxxvi. 27. According to Sallust, Antonius alone of the rejected Consuls was in the conspiracy. Suetonius and Dio Cass. include Sulla also. Comp. Liv. *Epit.* ci.

† This was called *prensatio*, "shaking hands."

really to be apprehended from him. The other candidates gave him little uneasiness; not even excepting C. Antonius, who also enjoyed the favour of Crassus and Cæsar, and who did in fact eventually become his colleague, as he had previously been both in the Ædileship and the Prætorship. He describes many of his supposed competitors as men of little consideration. It is worth while to remark the wish he expresses that Thermus (by adoption C. Marcius Figulus*) might be chosen Consul for the year next ensuing; because he was the most likely to stand in his light, having made himself very popular by the repair of the Flaminian Way, a work now approaching its completion. When we read in what disparaging terms Cicero speaks of this Thermus, we see what trifling circumstances might often determine the choice of a Consul. Cicero's wish was fulfilled; Thermus being elected Consul for the following year, together with L. Julius Cæsar.

Cicero began his *prensation*¹ on the 17th of July, a day when the Campus was crowded on occasion of the election of the new Tribunes: he requested to be sent by the Senate to Gaul on a *legatio libera* †; the Cispadane Gauls being Roman citizens, whom he desired to gain for the

* [Minucius Thermus, adopted into the patrician *gens Marcia*, is mentioned in the Fasti as C. Marcius Figulus, Consul with L. Cæsar, A. U. 690. He is supposed to be the Q. Minucius Thermus to whom some of Cicero's letters are addressed, a noted partisan of Pompeius in the civil war. The adoptive name was often dropped in common parlance. See Orelli, *in voce*.]

† This was the name given to the *Leave*, which the Senators obtained from the Senate, for the transaction of their private affairs in the provinces, where they enjoyed higher consideration in virtue of it. [It was often obtained as an honourable excuse for being absent from Rome on emergency. Ordinarily it was the duty of a Senator to remain at his post, any absence from which might give occasion for unpleasant remarks. This explains the extreme uneasiness Cicero felt at a later period (see under A. U. 710) at leaving the city, and his anxiety to return to it.]

¹ Ep. 10.
(Att. 1. 1.)

consular election of the ensuing year. He left the charge of furthering his interests with the lieutenants and retinue of Pompeius, to Atticus, who was then more within reach of the great captain. He urgently entreats his friend to return early the next year to Rome, where his influence was of the highest consequence to Cicero's success. We see him, also, striving anxiously to keep on good terms with all the powerful and influential. He even refused a just request of the uncle of his friend, the rich and distinguished Cæcilius, whom on account of that relationship he would naturally have desired to keep in good humour, because the granting it might have lost him the favour of Domitius Ahenobarbus.¹ For truly as he says, *οὐχ ἱερήϊον, οὐδὲ βοεῖην ἀρνύσθην*.²

¹ Ep. 10, 3.
(Att. 1. 1.)

² Homer. II
xxii. 159.

The attainment of the object for which he had striven during so many years with all his energies was at stake.

There is a very remarkable passage in the last of the letters belonging to this period.³ "I am preparing to defend Catilina my rival. We have the judges we wished; and the accuser is perfectly content with them. If Catilina is acquitted, I shall be the more sure of his good will towards me in the matter of my suit; if otherwise, I shall bear it like a man." While in this letter he thus speaks of Catilina, just before he had said⁴: "Catilina will certainly be my competitor, that is, if the judges declare that the sun does not shine at noon-day." Cicero had probably reflected since he had last written, how dangerous a rival Catilina might become, favoured as he was by Crassus and Cæsar, should the issue of the above-mentioned process be propitious to him; while in that case, supposing he had himself been his defender (and perhaps Catilina may have applied to him for help), a compromise might be effected to further their common object; each mutually sacrificing his friends for the support of his competitor. So

³ Ep. 11.
(Att. 1. 2.)
A. U. 689.

⁴ Ep. 10, 1.
(Att. 1. 1.)

difficult is it for the man who seeks advancement in a corrupt State, to preserve the moral purity of his conduct. There is, however, reason to believe, that from some change of circumstances, with which we are not acquainted, Cicero did not actually defend Catilina.* He was acquitted (*infamia judicium*, as Asconius observes); his accuser Clodius himself had been silenced with a bribe, and the Consul Torquatus, against whose life Catilina had conspired, had come forward in his place.†

Cicero's domestic happiness at this period was somewhat disturbed by the differences between his beloved brother Quintus (who in the year 689 held the office of *Ædile*), and his brother's wife Pomponia, sister of Atticus. This grieved Cicero the more, as he had been himself the promoter of this unfortunate marriage.¹ Quintus was of a sanguine and excitable temperament; his wife seems to have been jealous and irritable. Cicero exerted all his fraternal affection, and all the influence of his age over his brother, to effect a better understanding between them, and for the sake of his friend also, he felt himself bound to make every effort.² On the other hand, he found a source of pleasure in the betrothal of his daughter Tullia to C. Piso Frugi, who was a member of the noble house of the Calpurnii, and highly esteemed by Cicero for his qualities both of head and heart.³ Tullia could then (in the year 686) have been scarcely nine years old; for Cicero was probably not married before 677; but the great men of Rome resembled those of modern times in

* Ascon. (*In orat. in tog. cand.*), p. 85. [*Defensus est Catilina, ut Fenestella tradit, a M. Cicerone. Quod ego ut addubitem hæc ipsa Ciceronis oratio facit, maxime quod is nullam mentionem rei habet, cum potuerit invidiam, facere competitori tam turpiter adversus se coeunti.*] We might also expect Cicero to mention the fact, had such been the case, in his speech for L. Sulla.

† Cic. *pro Sull.* 29 *de Harusp. resp.* 20.

¹ Nep. *Vit.*
Att. 5.

² Ep. 1. (*Att.*
1. 5.)

³ Ep. 8. (*Att.*
1. 2.)

his custom of betrothing their children at an early age. Many letters of this period¹ evince his paternal love for¹ *Ep. 1. 4. 6.* Tullia, and the tenderness with which he treated this child,^(Att. 1. 5. 8. 10.) the darling of his heart (*deliciæ nostræ*). Two years afterwards (688), a son was born to him.² These joyful events² *Ep. 11.* may have afforded him consolation for the losses his family^(Att. 1. 2.) had sustained. His first letter to Atticus begins with a lamentation on the death of Lucius*, his uncle's son, who accompanied him to Sicily, when he went there to collect proofs and materials for the prosecution of Verres. At the close of the same year he lost his father † (686).³ *Ep. 2. (Att. 1. 6.)*

It may strike us with some surprise that, in his letters to his most intimate friend, he should speak in such brief and cold terms of a parent who appears to have been a truly excellent man; and we are glad to find that he mentions him elsewhere with affection. But he notifies the birth of his son, an event which no doubt afforded him great pleasure, in a few words only; and we may observe, as a general rule, that we must not expect to find the real outpourings of the heart in the letters of the ancients: least of all when the writer, as was the case with Cicero, was absorbed in public affairs, or was endeavouring to reach some high position in the State. Public life was the animating principle of their whole existence. The Roman

* *De Fin.* v. 1. He terms him *fratrem, cognatione patruelem, amore germanum.*

† See *Ep. 2. (Att. i. 6.)* [The slightness of the filial tie among the Romans, induced perhaps by the harshness of their domestic institutions, is curiously illustrated by the extraordinary coldness with which this event is mentioned. *Q. frater, ut mihi videtur, quo volumus animo est in Pomponiam, et cum ea nunc in Arpinatibus prædiis erat, et secum habebat hominem χρηστομαθή, D. Turranium. Pater nobis decessit A.D. viii. Kal. Dec. Hæc habebam fere, quæ te scire vellem. Tu, velim, si qua ornamenta γυμνασιώδῃ reperire poteris, . . . ne prætermittas. Nos Tusculano ita delectamur, &c.* See Merimée, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Rom.* ii. 43.]

who was of any political consideration, thought and felt first of all in relation to the State; on the State he sought to build up the fabric of his fortune; to the State he looked for the fulfilment of all his wishes. In these objects Cicero's friend felt and acted with him, as far as he was able; and it was therefore natural that the State should form the principal topic of intercourse between them. If they loved literature, indeed, as was the case with Cicero and Atticus, this also might form an element in their correspondence. But when Rome became subject to a single master, this generous view of life, these lofty aspirations of the citizen, were lost; the letters of Pliny already exhibit an approach to modern sensibility.*

In the letter before us, we find examples of the nature of the services which the Roman considered himself bound to perform for his friend. Atticus leaves his home in Greece, and comes to Rome, as soon as Cicero begins his formal application for the Consulship; and the latter makes frequent allusion to the activity he manifested in his behalf.

We have no letters extant belonging to the two following years. In consequence of his friend's urgent entreaties¹, Atticus came to Rome, probably in the year 690, and remained there during this period; so that it was not till 693 that the correspondence between them recom-

¹ *Ep.* 11.
(*Att.* 1. 2.)

* [It may be worth while to compare, in this view, the way in which Horace and Statius speak of their fathers respectively.

Horat. *Sat.* i. 4, 105.: *Insuevit pater optimus hoc me.*

i. 6, 64.: *Non patre præclaro sed vita et pectore puro.*

Stat. *Sylv.* v. 3. 246.:

Quid referam expositos servato pondere mores;

Quæ pietas; quam vile lucrum; quæ cura pudoris;

Quantus amor recti; rursusque, ubi dulce remitti,

Gratia quæ dictis, animo quam nulla senectus?

The first is the language of respect, the second of affection.]

menced. The following abstract will serve for a view of affairs in general, and of those that refer to Cicero in particular.

A. U. 690. B. C. 64. CIC. 43.

L. JULIUS CÆSAR; C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.

Pompeius repairs to Syria, which he conquers from Antiochus the Thirteenth, and constitutes a Roman province.

Cicero now appears as a formal candidate for the Consulship. He has six competitors; L. Sergius Catilina, and Serv. Sulpicius Galba, patricians; C. Antonius Hybrida, a younger son of the orator's, L. Cassius Longinus, Q. Cornificius, and C. Licinius Sacerdos, plebeians; but of these latter four, the two first were nobles.* Cicero was the only candidate of the Equestrian order. Catilina and Antonius, assisted by Cæsar and Crassus, employed every means, both legal and illegal, to crush Cicero, in whose favour the popular voice spoke loudly; and the Senate was forced in consequence to increase the severity of the laws against *ambitus*, or bribery. The Tribune Q. Mucius Orestinus put his veto upon this measure, and this gave occasion to Cicero, a few days before the Comitia, to deliver a speech in the Senate against the conspiracy of Catilina and Antonius.†

Cicero's character stood so high in the estimation of the people, and so firm was the confidence they reposed in

* [The Roman *homo nobilis* was a man whose ancestors had served one of the higher magistracies. At this period the aristocracy of Rome were *nobiles*, as opposed to the *patricii* of an earlier period.]

† This is the "*oratio in toga candida*," of which we have only a few fragments in Asconius. This writer's argument to the speech is important. Comp. *pro Mur.* 8. : *Etenim mihi ipsi accidit, ut cum duobus patriciis, altero improbissimo atque audacissimo, altero modestissimo atque optimo viro peterem; superavi tamen dignitate Catilinam, gratia Galbam.*

him in that crisis, that notwithstanding the desire of Cæsar and Crassus to set him aside, the people, instead of voting for him, as usual, by ballot, proclaimed him Consul with loud acclamations.* Antonius had a few more centuries on his side than Catilina, and became therefore Cicero's colleague. In this year Cicero defended the Prætor of the former year, Q. Gallius, who was charged with having procured that office by unlawful means. He was acquitted. This speech is lost, with the exception of a few fragments only.

A. U. 691. B. C. 63. Cic. 44.

M. TULLIUS CICERO ; C. ANTONIUS.

Pompeius, summoned to Judea by the Maccabean brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who were contending for the high priesthood and supreme power, seizes the temple at Jerusalem, gives the government to Hyrcanus, takes Aristobulus captive, and imposes a tribute on the Jews. He then goes to Amisus, and Mithridates having been put to death in the meanwhile by his son Pharnaces, in conjunction with his soldiers, Pompeius establishes the latter as sovereign of the Bosphorus, takes possession of the fortresses of Pontus, and reduces it to the form of a province. C. Julius Cæsar is chosen by the people Pontifex Maximus. L. Lucullus triumphs over Mithridates and Pharnaces. Octavius (afterwards Augustus) is born.

Cicero had now attained the highest dignity to which a Roman could lawfully aspire; and this, as in the case of his previous offices, in the very year assigned by the

* *Orat. ii. contra Rullum, 2.:* [*Meis comitiis non tabellam, vindicem tacitæ libertatis, sed vocem vivam . . . tulistis. In Pison. 1. non prius tabellâ quam voce. Asconius (ad Or. in toga cand.) contents himself with saying omnium consensu.*]

laws.* With a view of attaching his colleague to himself, and withdrawing him from the connections full of danger to the State into which he had entered, Cicero had resigned in his favour the rich province of Macedonia, which had fallen to himself by lot, for the ensuing year; and contented himself with Cisalpine Gaul, which however he subsequently transferred to Q. Metellus.¹ On his first entrance into office, he had to maintain a contest with the Tribune P. Servilius Rullus, who, in order to gain the favour of the people, had proposed a highly pernicious agrarian law. Cicero delivered three successful speeches against him; one in the Senate, and two before the people. They have all come down to us, with the exception of the beginning of the first, and remain a monument of the orator's great political sagacity.† He next applied himself, in a speech which is unfortunately lost, to soothe the populace, who were dissatisfied at the cession to the knights of separate seats in the theatre.² He was straining every nerve to carry into execution his favourite scheme of raising the Equestrian order, and connecting it more closely with the Senate; and in this he

¹ Sall. Cat.
26. Cic. In
Pison. 2.

² Plut. Cic.
13. Plin.
Hist. Nat. vii.
31.

* *In Rullum*, ii. 2. [*anno meo* : see above.]

† [It will be seen in the sequel, that the author is not quite consistent in his praise of the orator's sagacity in this matter; for he will be found to confess that Cicero was fatally blind to the political exigencies of the time, and of these none is now at least more evident than that which these laws were meant to meet, by drawing off the idle population of the city, and establishing it in colonies on the public domain. This had been the object of political reformers from the Gracchi to Cæsar, and it afforded the surest means of alleviating the most pressing dangers of the State. But it ran counter to many prejudices, and, above all, it was the measure of a political party; accordingly the optimates stoutly opposed it, and Cicero, thinking that he was serving the interests of Pompeius, joined in the opposition. The ability with which he turned the passions of the populace against their own interests is unquestionable, but the course he took was pernicious to the Republic, and probably dishonest in itself.]

so far succeeded, that when the Senate and people of Rome were mentioned in public affairs, the knights were also brought in by name.* He studied to pacify the sons of Sulla's proscripts, who demanded a repeal of the Dictator's enactment, which it seemed then dangerous to cancel, by which they were excluded from every post of honour in the State. On this occasion he delivered the speech (no longer extant) "*de Proscriptorum Filiis*."¹

¹ *Ep.* 26, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

Of considerable importance, also, is his speech before the people, on behalf of the Senator C. Rabirius, accused by the Tribune T. Attius Labienus of the murder of Saturninus, who had been slain in a tumult thirty-seven years before.² The charge was invalid, as the Consuls and the Senate had declared Saturninus a public enemy, and invited an armed attack upon him. But the real ground of the accusation was the wish to deprive the Senate of the power of investing the Consuls with unlimited authority in cases of emergency; and to alarm it, by establishing a precedent for the reversal of decrees passed many years before. We may easily perceive that this was their object. The vote upon this case, which would in all probability have been unfavourable to Rabirius, was never passed †; and other events intervening, Labienus let the charge drop.

² A. U. 654.

* *Plin. Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 8.: *M. Cicero demum stabilivit equestre nomen in consulatu suo ab illo tempore plane hoc tertium corpus in republica factum est, cæpitque adjici Senatui populoque Romano et Equester ordo.*

† ["Cicero defended the criminal; but his eloquence was not likely to avail, and sentence was given against his client. The charge was capital, and an appeal lay in one quarter only, the comitia of the tribes. This resource seemed to offer but a slender chance of success."]

. . . . But for the timely interference of a Prætor, Metellus Celer, Rabirius could hardly have escaped the confirmation of his sentence. When the frontiers of Rome were but a few miles from her gates, and the advance of the Etruscans behind the barrier of the Vatican and Janiculan hills was frequently sudden and unexpected, watch was kept upon an eminence

We possess Cicero's speech, but only in a mutilated form.¹ Catilina made another attempt to obtain the consulship for the following year, and was again unsuccessful, principally owing to the efforts of Cicero, who moreover increased the severity of the Calpurnian law against illegal canvassing.² Thus checked and thwarted, he now hastened to put his long-meditated schemes in execution, and this was the time to call forth Cicero's utmost foresight, prudence, and resolution.

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 12. Dio Cass. xxxvii. 26. foll. *Pro C. Rabir.* 2. Comp. in *Pison.* 2.

² Cic. *pro Muren.* 23. in *Vatin.* 15.

We shall omit in this place all details, as the circumstances which have reference to Cicero's letters will be again alluded to in their proper places; we shall only here notice the speeches delivered against Catilina in their chronological order.

1st speech held in the Senate, 8 Nov.=12 Jan. B. C. 62.

2nd speech before the people, 9 Nov.=13 Jan. „ 62.

3rd speech before the people, 3 Dec.=5 Feb. „ 62.

4th speech in the Senate, 5 Dec.=7 Feb. „ 62.

Towards the end of the year, Cicero defended L. Licinius Murena, Consul elect for the year 692, who had been accused of ambitus. He was successful, though on the other side were Cato, and the renowned lawyer Serv.

beyond the Tiber, to give notice of the approach of an enemy, whenever the people were occupied in the transaction of business in the Campus Martius. The signal of danger was the removal of the great white flag, which floated conspicuously on the summit of the Janiculum. The people broke up hastily from their elections or debates, and rushed to man the walls. The old custom remained in force for centuries among a people more than usually retentive of antique observances. Metellus, acting possibly in concert with the managers of the prosecution, struck the flag and suspended the proceedings. The excited and bloodthirsty populace understood, and perhaps laughed at the trick, consenting cheerfully to be baulked of their prey for the sake of a constitutional fiction. The object of the charge, which was only intended, perhaps, to alarm and mortify the nobles, being already gained, the prosecutors abstained from pressing the matter, which was allowed to fall into oblivion." Merivale, *Hist. Rom. Emp.* i. 120.]

Sulpicius, who had been beaten by Murena, in the suit for the Consulship. Before this he had made a successful speech, now no longer extant, in defence of C. Calpurnius Piso, accused of extortion during his Consulship. We may remark, finally, that while Consul, he carried a law restricting the *legationes liberæ* to the term of a single year.¹

¹ Cic. de
Legg. iii. 8.

BOOK II.



LETTERS OF CICERO,

IN THE YEARS

692 TO 694.



CICERO AS AN INFLUENTIAL CONSULAR.

BOOK II.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 692. B. C. 62. Cic. 45.

D. JUNIUS SILANUS ; L. LICINIUS MURENA.

CATILINA, endeavouring to withdraw into Gaul with his army, finds the passage barred by Q. Metellus Celer; he is beaten at Pistoria by Petreius, legate of Antonius the late Consul, and is himself slain with 3000 followers. In the other parts of Italy likewise the conspirators are subdued. Julius Cæsar and Q. Cicero are Prætors this year. M. Porcius Cato, Tribune of the people.

A. U. 693. B. C. 61. Cic. 46.

M. PUPPIUS PISO CALPURNIANUS ; M. VALERIUS MESSALA NIGER.

Cn. Pompeius triumphs a third time. The revenues were increased by him nearly one half. C. Antonius, Proconsul of Macedonia, is replaced by C. Octavius, father of Augustus. Q. Cicero goes as Proprætor to Asia : Julius Cæsar in a similar capacity to Spain.

A. U. 694. B. C. 60, Cic. 47.

L. AFRANIUS ; Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CELER.

Julius Cæsar returns from Spain. The Triumvirate.
The years noticed in the above summary are amongst

the most important in the annals of the Republic, as well as in the life of Cicero. The Commonwealth still existed, shaken though it was by the disturbances and civil wars of the last seventy years, and undermined by the corruption ever spreading in its interior. Though few in number, there still remained *Optimates* in the true sense of the word, such for instance as the excellent Catulus, who dared oppose some resistance to the turbulence of the people. Pompeius was as yet unable to succeed in the execution of his ambitious plans, while Cato and his party, in alliance with Lucullus, Crassus, and their adherents, employed all their efforts against him, and even Cicero was far from wishing to assist him in all his schemes. Cicero's political principles had acquired firmness during his Consulship. Before attaining the supreme dignity he had sought in various ways to gain the favour of the people and of the Tribunes; but, on his very first day of office, he came forward against Rullus with vigour and decision, and made it evident what course he intended to pursue. Opposed both by nature and principle to the unbridled rabble, and to the demagogues who knew how to influence that rabble for their own ends, he avowed at once his purpose of ranging himself on the side of the *Optimates*. Theirs was the cause for which he contended, as well against the patrician Catilina and his distinguished associates, as against the Tribunes. To these principles he remained true: and thus during the three years succeeding his Consulship he stood forward as the guardian of the State which he had saved in his year of office from destruction.

When in the letters of this period we read these expressions, "He of whom you write (Atticus had been speaking of Pompeius) has nothing noble, nothing sublime about him; his sole aim is popularity, and that he courts

by the most undignified means ; ” * again, “ Pompeius is silently endeavouring to maintain the splendour of his embroidered triumphal robe¹ ; ” when we further read Cicero’s words, “ The Commonwealth can no longer preserve itself ; ”² and then reflect that the following year saw Cæsar Consul, we have the outlines of the political picture presented to us.

¹ *Ep.* 23. 8.
(*Att.* i. 18.)

² *Ep.* 23. 2.
(*Att.* i. 18.)

With regard to Cicero, in order to form an accurate judgment of him at this period, we must remember that in the preceding year he had been Consul, and had then reached the highest point at which his ambition aimed. He had done his part towards attaining the summit of renown and dignity : but a higher Power caused an event to take place just at the time of his Consulship which could not fail to invest it with distinguished glory, — an event which, while it gratified his thirst for fame, saved at the same time the State from destruction. Through his administration also the Senate acquired in a great measure that authority and firmness which made even Pompeius cautious in his pursuit of popularity, and which enabled it to comport itself with dignity on various occasions.

But no sooner was the safety of Rome assured by the fall of Catilina, and Cicero possessed of the glorious title his ambition coveted, that of “ Father of his Country,” than he was destined to prove by experience how often the highest fortune of mortals is closely followed by disaster : the one might indeed almost seem fated to attract the other. The last day of his Consulate, glorious as it was, might have warned him how slippery was the ground on which his foot then rested. When, in com-

* [*Ep.* 25. (*Att.* i. 20.) *Nihil habet amplum, nihil excelsum, nihil non submissum atque populare.* Comp. 18, 4. (*Att.* i. 13.) *Nihil come, nihil simplex nihil ex τοῖς πολιτικοῖς honestum, nihil illustre, nihil forte, nihil liberum.*]

pliance with ancient custom, he was about to resign his authority with a public harangue, the newly elected Tribune Q. Cæcilius Metellus Nepos* forbade him to speak, saying it was not for him to address the people, who had condemned Roman citizens to death without a trial. Upon this Cicero raised his voice, and swore in the hearing of all the people, that in his Consulate he had preserved the Commonwealth from ruin; and the people cried aloud with acclamations, "Thou hast spoken truly!" †

Plutarch says expressly that Metellus was acting on this occasion in concert with Cæsar, who entered on the Prætorship the following day, and that it was the object of both to overthrow Cicero; it is apparent, likewise, from the oration for Sestius¹ that the Catilinarian conspiracy, though nearly extinct, was still exerting an influence on the Tribune's conduct. This was natural enough, as eleven Senators, and even the first Prætor, Cornelius Lentulus Sura, had concurred in Catilina's schemes, besides many Tribunes of the last and present year, among whom were Rullus and Metellus Nepos himself; even Cicero's colleague in the Consulship was suspected of participation in the plot. Henceforth it became a current saying that Cicero had condemned Roman citizens to death unheard²; and attentive observers must have perceived that the measures were already in preparation against him which afterwards came to a triumphant issue in the hands of Clodius. Cæsar, who, there can be no doubt, was already maturing his ambitious schemes of dominion, and who had played no inconsiderable part in the

* The Tribunes at that time entered on office on the 10th of December.

† *Ep.* 14, 4. (*Div.* v. 2.); 252, 19. (*Att.* vi. 1.) in *Pison.* 3. (Comp. *Plut. Cic.* 23.) These passages show what importance Cicero attached to this circumstance. *Magnus prætextatus illo fui die*, he writes to Atticus from his province in the year 704.

¹ *Pro Sest.* 5.

² *Ep.* 14, 4.
(*Div.* v. 2.)

affair of Catilina, must have felt a man like Cicero to be a great obstacle in his way, possessing, as he did, popularity and weight in the Senate, being an open partizan of the Optimates, and all his political efforts being directed to the preservation of the ancient constitution. It is evident that Cæsar already aimed at effecting a disunion between the people and the Senate; and in attacking one of the Senators, Q. Catulus, he struck a blow at the whole body.¹ But the aggrandizement of Pompeius was a matter of indifference to him; to whatever eminence that leader might attain, he felt conscious of his own capacity to rise beyond him. He even went so far as to promote the increase of his power, in order that the Romans might grow familiarized with extraordinary elevations.*

¹ Dio Cass. xxxvii. 44.

It is therefore no matter of surprise that he gave his support to the proposition of Metellus Nepos, who, having been recommended by his brother-in-law Pompeius to the Tribunate, which he had accordingly hastened from Asia to obtain, now suggested that the Emperor should be recalled at the head of his army to restore order.† Under cover of this scheme it was no doubt intended to take active measures against Cicero and the Optimates. This Rogation was however rejected, chiefly through the firmness of Cato, who had been wisely appointed colleague to Nepos; and it was now apparent what had been the real object of the earlier unsuccessful exertions of Metellus against the veto of the Tribunes, by which they mutually destroyed each other's power.‡

* Cæsar, according to Dio (xxxvi. 26.), intrigued for a resolution of the people in his favour, similar to the *lex Manilia*, and aimed at exposing Pompeius to envy on account of the powers entrusted to him.

† Comp. Dio Cass. xxxvii. 43.; Plut. *Cic.* 23.

‡ Plutarch (*Cic.* 23.) imagines that Cicero obtained the title of *father of*

Cicero had frequently opposed the restless Tribune who manifested such hostility towards him¹: and he makes mention of an oration which he had delivered against him.² It is uncertain whether he took any active part against the Rogation. Neither he nor any of the ancient authors say anything on that head. It was impossible that it could meet with his approbation; but his line of policy forbade him to act openly in opposition to Pompeius, though he may have resisted the instrument without naming the man who wielded it. There is no doubt that Cæsar was acting in concert with Nepos, when the latter laboured to persuade the people to complain of the conduct of the Senate as illegal in condemning a citizen to death without their concurrence,—an incessant clamour, which could only be kept within bounds by an energetic decree.³ All we know of Cicero's transactions with Metellus, from his own mouth, is contained in the fourteenth letter of our collection⁴, in which he defends himself against Q. Metellus Celer, at that time Proprætor of Cisalpine Gaul, who had reproached him for his treatment of his brother the Tribune.* After those occurrences Nepos was forced to fly from Rome; and he joined Pompeius, who was then on his return to the city.

The letter preceding this is a very important one. It is addressed to Pompeius, who was then⁵, at the close of

his country on that occasion, from a speech of Cato, in which he praised his Consulship. Cicero himself says (*in Pison.* 3.), that Catulus conferred it upon him. Appian (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 7.) mentions Cato as the person from whom the appellation came. He does not however state the time with precision. The common opinion is that he obtained the title on delivering the fourth speech against Catilina.

* This is the Metellus, who was so active as Prætor in opposing Catilina, and afterwards cut off the retreat of the Catilinarian army in its attempt to escape across the Alps, and so put an end to the war. Mucia, wife of Pompeius, whom he afterwards repudiated, was sister of the two Metelli. Suet. *Jul.* 50.

¹ *Ep.* 14, 4.
(*Div.* v. 2.)

² *Ep.* 18, 6.
(*Att.* i. 13.);
Quinct. Inst.
Or. ix. 3.;
Gell. xviii. 7.

³ *Dio Cass.*
xxxvii. 42.;
Comp. Suet.
Jul. 16.

⁴ *Div.* v. 2.

⁵ *A. U.* 692.

the Mithridatic war, still in Asia. Cicero had sent him an account of the proceedings during his Consulate¹ — ¹ *Pro Sull. 24.* conceived, no doubt, in the same self-laudatory spirit which breathes throughout his letters and other writings. But Pompeius, though his advancement was the work of Fortune rather than of his own genius, was meditating further schemes of ambition; to him accordingly, not less than to Cæsar, a man like Cicero appeared an unwelcome obstacle; and the commander in his military cloak might well have been jealous of the renown of the Consular in the Toga.* In the communications which he addressed to the Senate and to Cicero, Pompeius noticed not at all, or but very slightly, the deeds of the Consul: and this was a thorn in Cicero's soul, the existence of which we recognize in the tone of the present letter, for it must be remembered that, over and above any feelings of wounded pride, he required the favour and approbation of Pompeius, both for his personal security and for the maintenance of his policy.

Crassus, turning to his own account the Sullan proscriptions and other favourable circumstances, had acquired a considerable number of houses in Rome, and one of these, a magnificent edifice, situated on the Palatine hill and overlooking the Forum†², Cicero bought of him in the² *Cic. pro domo, 44.*

* [This letter seems to have been an elaborate political pamphlet. Cicero says of it, *pro Sull. 24.*: *Epistolam meam quam ego ad Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa reipubl. misi.* The Scholiast on the *Or. pro Planc.* describes it as *epist. non mediocrem ad instar voluminis scriptam.* It was made public, and the citizens surmised, from the complacency of its tone, that it could not be agreeable to Pompeius, who, it was well known by every one but Cicero himself, could bear no rival in popularity. See *Or. pro Planc. 34.*]

† This house had originally belonged to the Tribune, M. Livius Drusus, who was assassinated in the year 663. See the famous story connected with it, *Vell. Pater. ii. 14.*

year after his Consulship. He states the purchase-money at three millions and a half of Sesterces*, in a letter to P. Sextius the Quæstor of Antonius.¹ In the same letter he says, that this purchase had involved him in debt†²; but a Consular of his celebrity found a stately dwelling desirable for the maintenance of his dignity, and a site overlooking the Forum would naturally have charms for the "Father of his Country."

His pecuniary embarrassments seem to have affected his relations with Antonius, his former colleague in the Consulship. This selfish and avaricious man had acquired notoriety at an earlier period by his extortions in Achaia, and on that account the Censors had expelled him from the Senate‡, into which, however, he was subsequently re-admitted. He now spread the report that a portion of the wealth he had amassed in his province of Macedonia was destined for Cicero³; and accordingly people began to whisper that it was not without an eye to his own interest that the latter had given up his claim to that province. Cicero was very anxious to suppress these rumours, and from the manner in which he writes on the subject to Atticus in the above passage, we cannot doubt that they were without foundation. It is a more probable conjecture, that Antonius had promised him a pecuniary remuneration if he would undertake his defence in the Senate against the prosecution with which he was threatened: and this conjecture acquires additional probability if, as there is reason to believe, Antonius is the person referred to under the name of Teucris, which occurs in

* [Computing the Sestertius at 2½d., this may amount to about 30,000*l.* of our money.]

† Gellius (N. A. xii. 12.) asserts that in order to purchase this house, Cicero borrowed two million Sesterces from Sulla, whose defence he had undertaken.

‡ Ascon. Ped. in *Or. in toga cand.*

¹ *Ep.* 15, 2.
Div. v. 6.)
² *Comp. Ep.*
18, 7. (*Att.* i.
13.)

³ *Ep.* 16, 2.
(*Att.* i. 12.)

the sixteenth and some later letters.* Antonius acted with such injustice and extortion in his province, that as early as the year 692 complaints of him were lodged with the Senate. Cicero defended him at first¹, but being informed by some adherents of Pompeius, who arrived in Rome before their leader, that it was his intention to press for the removal of Antonius from his province², and being irritated moreover by the rumour above mentioned, he abandoned him, at least for the present. Afterwards, when Antonius underwent a second and more severe prosecution under the Consuls Cæsar and Bibulus³, he defended him, but without success.† The debt, we find, was subsequently discharged by “Teucris.”⁴

Cicero did not repent of his resolution to decline the charge of a Province at the expiration of his Consulship.⁵ He felt himself in truth to be what we have described him at the commencement of this period, and he hoped to become, in conjunction with Pompeius, the stay and support of the State⁶: above all it was his anxious desire to maintain that good understanding between the knights and the Senate, of which he had laid the foundation during

* The argument Schütz alleges against this supposition, that in that case Cicero, in the sixteenth letter, immediately after using this mysterious designation, would not have mentioned Antonius by his own name, seems of little weight. Cicero had to secure himself against the messengers, who were wont to open the letters entrusted to them (18, 1. *Att.* i. 13.). When he is talking about this pecuniary claim, he calls Antonius, Teucris; when he speaks of things which required no secrecy, he designates him by his own name. The context in the sixteenth letter (*Att.* i. 12.) appears to me to make it sufficiently evident that Teucris and Antonius are the same person. [There seems no reason for identifying Teucris with Antonius. As a female appellative, it more probably refers to some woman from whom Cicero expected pecuniary accommodation, which he much required, as appears from the letter, at this time. See Orelli, *Onom. in voc.*]

† Cic. in *Vatin.* 11.; *Pro M. Cælio*, 31. If we compare these passages with others in the letters, we may learn how much caution we must exercise in estimating the judgments Cicero pronounces in his speeches.

his administration.¹ At the same time he perceived that under existing circumstances a considerable amount of political wisdom was requisite in order to maintain influence over the destinies of the Commonwealth. Cæsar pressed on towards his object with more daring, and at last boldly cut the knot. Cicero sought to preserve existing institutions. Cæsar was resolved to overturn them.

Accordingly we see in many passages of his letters at this period, how carefully Cicero observed the characters and actions of men, and in what manner this observation affected his own dealings with them. His pride was irritated by the conduct of Piso² in omitting when, in spite of violent opposition, he was advanced to the Consulship (for the year 693) through the influence of Pompeius, to ask his opinion first in the Senate. This was a token of respect which had been shown to the honoured Consular the year before by the Consul Silanus. He consoled himself, however, with reflecting that he need now pay no more regard to this perverse personage; that the Senate had murmured at the omission*; and lastly, that the other Consul, Messala, manifested the utmost respect for him, and indeed gave every token of being a true patriot. He behaved with more deference than was consistent with his own convictions, towards Crassus³, Antonius⁴, and at one time even towards Clodius.⁵ His successful speech in defence of P. Cornelius Sulla, who was accused of participation in Catilina's conspiracy by L. Manlius Torquatus, a son of the Consul of the year 689,

* Cicero mentions on this occasion who were the Consulars of most consideration at that period; (their opinion was always first asked in debate). The first whom the Consul called on was C. Calpurnius Piso, his relation; the second, was Cicero; the third, Q. Lutatius Catulus, whom the Dictator Sulla had pronounced the *best man* (Plut. in *Pomp.*); and the fourth, Hortensius the orator. Cicero estimates the Consul Piso very differently in the speech for Plancius (c. 5.). On his character as an orator, see *Brut.* 67.

¹ *Ep.* 19, 5.
(*Att.* i. 14.)

² *Ep.* 18, 2.
(*Att.* i. 13.)

³ *Ep.* 19, 4, 5.
⁴ *Ep.* 15, 4.
(*Div.* v. 6.)

⁵ *Ep.* 18, 3.
(*Att.* i. 13.)

was perhaps intended by him to place his own character in a milder light, shaded, as it now was, with the reproach of having caused the murder of Roman citizens. For in consequence of a decree of the Senate, a fresh inquiry into the whole affair was set on foot under the Consuls Silanus and Murena. One L. Vettius gave information to the Quæstor Novius Niger, against the Prætor Cæsar, as an accomplice in the conspiracy, and Cæsar was accused also by Q. Curius, who adduced Catilina himself as his authority. Vettius engaged to produce a written document in Catilina's own hand, addressed to Cæsar. The accused, though in reality innocent of the specific charge, had no doubt rather encouraged than restrained the enterprise of which he could not fail, together with most of the statesmen of the day, to be fully aware; for he knew that any disorder in the State was likely to further his own ambitious views. He was hard pressed, and turned for help to Cicero, who produced evidence entirely exculpating him. Curius, who had been one of the conspirators, but was the first to give intelligence of the plot, was disappointed, through Cæsar's influence, of his promised reward; while Vettius was thrown into prison, after suffering cruel ill-treatment from the hands of the populace.¹ Many other¹ Suet. *Jul.* 17. conspirators were taken up, and condemned under the above named Consuls; amongst them Autronius, who, though formerly a schoolfellow and friend of Cicero, and afterwards his colleague in the Prætorship, could not prevail upon him to undertake his defence.²

² *Pro Sull.* 6.

Pompeius was at this time the especial object of Cicero's attention. He had returned to Rome at the end of the year 692, having first disbanded his army at Brundisium, either from alarm at the failure of the Rogation of Nepos, or from unwarrantable confidence in his personal influence. Unfortunately the letter to Atticus, to which Cicero alludes

in the nineteenth of this series, is not extant. It appears to have contained a detailed account of the first oration Pompeius made to the people after his return, and would have been very interesting from the commentary it would have furnished on the following words: "The speech was neither gratifying to the oppressed nor encouraging to the ill-disposed; the rich were not grateful for it, and to the good it appeared insignificant: the consequence was, that it made no impression."* We gain, however, a tolerably clear notion of what the schemes of Pompeius were, from Cicero's letter of February 13. 693. It seems that he praised in general terms all the recent acts of the Senate, but carefully avoided entering into particulars; and Cicero himself was forced to rest satisfied with this general praise. It would appear that Pompeius was actuated by secret jealousy of Cicero, and by the wish to avoid breaking with any party; either with the remnant of Catilina's adherents, or with the friends of Clodius, who had at this time already committed the crime of which we are soon to speak.† He found, however, the influence of the Senate to be greater than Nepos and others had led him to expect. He was at the same time anxious to be esteemed a friend of the people, and he seems to have fancied that he had only to appear in Rome and flatter all parties in order to gain the ready submission of all to the great Pompeius, the favourite of Sulla, the restorer of what his patron had destroyed, the conqueror of Mithridates and of the pirates. Cicero knew that Pompeius was secretly jealous of him, at the same time that he praised him in public, though not

* [*Ep.* 19, 2. (*Att.* i. 14.), written 13th February. *Prima concio Pompeii qualis fuisset scripsi ad te antea. Non jucunda miseris, inanis improbis, beatis non grata, bonis non gravis. Itaque frigebat.*]

† Clodius had before this assisted Pompeius by abetting the mutinous soldiery of his own brother-in-law, Lucullus, in Asia. *Dio Cass.* xxxv. 14.

indeed in the Senate, and he takes notice of it repeatedly in his letters to Atticus.¹ It must at the same time have become gradually evident to him that Pompeius was not the champion whom the State then needed. He would never have allowed the infamous affair of Clodius to end as it did, had he been the master spirit he fancied himself, and would have had others esteem him. The transaction here alluded to, gives a profound view of the corruption of the State, and is important to us as it proved the means of bringing about what Metellus Nepos had been unable to effect, the abasement of Cicero.

About the end of the year 692 a young man of an ancient and noble family, Publius Clodius, at that time Quæstor, who had once been Cicero's friend, and had assisted him in the affair of Catilina's conspiracy, in the prosecution of an intrigue with Cæsar's wife Pompeia, ventured to disguise himself as a woman, and steal into Cæsar's house during the celebration of the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*², at which the presence of men was strictly forbidden. Cicero foresaw in this outrage the germ of great evil to the State³, and though he was for some time lukewarm in the performance of the duties devolving on a Consular, he soon made use of all the influence and authority of his name, to cause the crime to be duly punished. In January, 693, Q. Cornificius brought the matter before the Senate. We are surprised that this should not have been done by a Senator of more consequence; but Cicero, though he likewise expresses astonishment at the circumstance, did not offer to come forward. The Senate demanded the judgment of the College of Priests; they pronounced it a sacrilege, and it was therefore resolved to bring it before the people. The Senate desired that the Prætor, on whom the conduct of the process devolved, should select the judges himself. This was contrary to the

¹ Ep. 18, 4.;
19, 4. (Att. i.
13, 14.)
Comp. 192, 3.
(Div. viii. 1.)

² De Har.
Resp. 17, 18.

³ Ep. 18, 3.
(Att. i. 13.)

ordinary rule, which provided that they should be chosen by lot, subject to the people's approval. Upon this point every thing depended, as soon appeared. The Prætors could only choose respectable judges; whereas election by lot was a matter of chance, or might give room for corruption. The Consul Piso laboured to hinder the Rogation, although it had been issued in his own name; but his colleague Messala stood firm to it, and Cato supported him; Cicero wavered. We can perceive from many instances in his conduct, that he was not apt to take in the whole import of a case at once, and that his will required some subsequent impulse from without to rouse it to vigorous action; perhaps, also, he did not feel sure of the assistance of the well-disposed, and he may have been staggered by the number of the culprit's adherents, and have already had some misgiving of the injury he was one day to suffer from this daring man. Clodius did all in his power to hinder the Rogation. Pompeius was now residing without the walls of the city, engaged in preparations for his triumph. Accordingly the Tribune, Fufius Calenus, who was in the interest of Clodius, having assembled the people in the Flaminian Circus, brought Pompeius to them, and asked him whether a decision given by judges chosen by the Prætor would be satisfactory to him. Pompeius did not dare to speak against Clodius, connected as he was with the most influential citizens*; he contented himself with praising the conduct of the Senate in general terms, as he afterwards did in the Forum. Cæsar remained quiescent; he was willing to spare Clodius, who was in

* One of his sisters was the wife of Lucullus (Dio Cass. xxxv. 14.); another, the notorious Clodia, nicknamed Quadrantaria (*Ep.* 26. *Att.* ii. 1.), of Q. Metellus Celer (*Ep.* 14. *Div.* v. 2.); and a third, Terentia, of Q. Marcius Rex (Plut. *Cic.* 29). Clodius was related also to Pompeius through the family of the Metelli.

great favour with the people; nevertheless, he divorced his wife; for "Cæsar's wife," he said, "must be above suspicion."¹

¹ Plut. Cic. 28.

The day of the Rogation came. Every art was employed by the party of Clodius to gain over the people. Piso, the younger Curio (who afterwards played an important part in the rivalry of Pompeius and Cæsar), and a number of young men who two years before had followed Catilina, were active in the business; the grossest corruption was practised.² Then Cato raised his powerful voice from the Rostrum, Hortensius, Favonius, and others supporting him. The assembly was dismissed without having come to any decision. When the Senate met to take the affair into consideration, Clodius descended to the most abject supplications; he could gain nothing, however, and again sought his safety with the people. The Senate decreed that the Consuls should exhort the people to accept the Rogation.

² Ep. 19, 6. (Att. i. 14.)

If Cicero had been fainthearted before, his courage now rose in proportion. But his hopes were soon dashed. Hortensius, fearing lest Calenus, in virtue of his office, should object to the unusual form of procedure, and imagining that "a sword of lead would suffice to cut Clodius' throat,"³ allowed himself to be satisfied with judges chosen by lot from the *Decuriæ judicum*.^{*} After certain of these had been rejected by the right of a challenge allowed by law to the accused, the men brought together as judges were such as, to use Cicero's words, "a worse set could hardly have been collected round a gaming table."⁴ Still the better class did not give up the affair for lost. Cicero

³ Ep. 21, 2. (Att. i. 16.)

⁴ Ep. 21, 2. (Att. i. 16.)

* The reader should observe the passage in the twenty-first letter (Att. i. 16), *Maculosi Senatores, etc.*; which lays before us in a few words the materials of which the corps of judges in a criminal process was at that time composed.

came forward as witness, asseverating that he had seen Clodius in his own house on the very day of the ceremony, when he pretended to have been at Interamna, about seventy miles from Rome.¹ The judges applauded Cicero loudly; the courage of the culprit and of his patrons' gave way. The Senate praised the judges, and addressed words of encouragement to them, while an armed guard was appointed for their protection. At this juncture Crassus interposed with the resources then most powerful in Rome. He administered bribes to the judges through the instrumentality of a slave of the lowest class; such as did not want money, though most were poor, were gained by still more infamous means: such was his success, that Clodius was finally acquitted by a majority of thirty-one to twenty-five. When the high-minded Catulus shortly afterwards chanced to encounter one of these base hirelings, he said, "What did you want guards for? was it for fear of being robbed of the wages of your shame?"*

Cicero deeply lamented an issue which his fears had too truly anticipated. "Know," he writes to Atticus², "that the State which you believed to be secured by my care, and I by the care of the Gods, and which did indeed appear to be established on a firm basis by the union of all the well disposed, and by the vigorous measures of my Consulate, has, unless some God looks down on us with mercy, already slipped from our hands by this one judgment; if that can be called a judgment when thirty men, the most frivolous and abandoned of the Roman people, violate for gold every right, human and divine; when a Talna, a Plautus, a Spongia, and other wretches like these, maintain that a deed was not committed which all men,

* On the affair of Clodius, see *Epp.* 16, 4. ; 18, 3. ; 19, 3, 6. ; 21, 1, 2. (*Att.* i. 12. ; 13. ; 14. ; 16.)

¹ *Comp. Ep.* 26, 4. (*Att.* ii. 1.)

² *Ep.* 21, 3. (*Att.* i. 16.)

aye, and the very brutes themselves, know to a certainty was committed.”¹ Still he did not lose courage. “The wretches thought,” such are his words next following², “that if religion, chastity, the honour of the judges, and the authority of the Senate could be overturned, then recklessness and lust might openly avenge themselves on the good among us for the pain my austere administration had inflicted on the bad. But I have infused courage into the minds that were cast down. I have restored the Senate to its ancient vigour, I have revived the despairing.”

Cicero doubtless brought on his own misfortunes by the constant and irritating persecution of Clodius, which he kept up after his acquittal. We admire the honourable and upright Consular, when, in addressing the Senate, he endeavoured to reassure those who had been shocked at the unexpected result of the trial; but his prudence yielded to his invincible love of sarcasm, when he made his galled opponent feel the superiority of his wit. He continued these sarcasms after Clodius had already begun to take measures against him.³ In this strife of words, Cicero certainly does not appear with the grace and decorum befitting a Consular*; nor is it any valid excuse that a similar license seems to have been not unfrequent in the Senate at that time.

In the speech which he delivered in presence of Pompeius before the popular assembly, when he seems to have had it much at heart to display himself in all his merit by the side of the victorious warrior †, he laid great stress on

* *Non consulare, inquires, dictum; fateor.* Cicero writes thus on occasion of one of these altercations with Clodius (*Ep.* 26., *Att.* ii. 1.) ; and in his work *De Officiis* (i. 40.) he says: *Turpe est valdeque vitiosum, in re severa convivii dicta aut delicatum aliquem inferre sermonem.*

† This is supposed to be the speech [*de Consulatu meo*] which Cicero mentions (*Orat.* 62.) ; some fragments of it are to be found in Quintilian (*Instit. Or.* ix. 3, 40. 50.)

¹ *Comp. Ep.* 23, 3. (*Att.* i. 18.)

² *Ep.* 21, 4. (*Att.* i. 16.)

³ *Ep.* 23, 6.; 24, 5.; 26, 4. (*Att.* i. 18.; i. 19.; ii. 1.)

the connection between the Senate and the knights, which, during his administration¹, he had been the means of cementing. To preserve this connection continued to be one of his main objects. He was attached to the Equestrian class, to which he had himself originally belonged; and he hoped by its agency to strengthen the power of the Senate; for the knights were large owners of land throughout Italy, and could uphold, as such, the proprietary institutions of the State. He calls them the ornament of the State; the prop of the Commonwealth.² The scheme was in itself a plausible one; for it is only too evident that the Senate stood in need of assistance, that the best men of the Optimate party were deficient in energy, that the common herd were the dupes and tools of every designing character. But unhappily Cicero sought to substantiate his ideas through the instrumentality of men devoted to self-interest by the very nature of their avocations; men who had attained an important position in the State simply by the power of money, who constituted a class out of which the ranks of the Senate were recruited, and who by means of their wealth exercised a tyranny of terrible power in those days.* Bad were the prospects of justice in a State where the noble Rutilius fell a victim to their cabals for his endeavours to check their extortions in his province.† The knights possessed a share in the administration of justice; in the affair of Clodius, as we have seen, judges of their class had been corrupted with bribes.³ They now felt themselves aggrieved when the Senate passed a decree for in-

* The knights had the exclusive management of the finances of the State, they farmed the revenues in the provinces, and all the public works, &c. were under their superintendence.

† Pseud. Ascon. in *Cæc. div.* 57. *Rutilius Rufus damnatus est quod cum prætore (Scævola) consenserit suo, ne publicani aliquid agerent in provincia sua. Quo cognito equites Rom. (nam tum ante Sullana tempora judicabant) damnarunt eum.*

¹ *Ep.* 19, 5.
(*Att.* i. 14.)

² *Pro Plancio*,
9.

³ *Ep.* 22, 3.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

quiring into the bribery practised on that occasion. To this cause of dissatisfaction another was added. Such of them as had compounded with the Censors for the revenues of the province of Asia discovered afterwards that they had made themselves answerable to the State for a sum exceeding the amount of their calculated profits, and required accordingly that the terms of the contract should be altered.¹ This the Senate refused; and hence arose a difference between the two orders which caused Cicero deep concern. He exerted all his eloquence in the knights' behalf, but was opposed both by Metellus Celer, the Consul elect, and by Cato, who held the dignity of the Senate to be irreconcilable with the sordid interests of the second order.² Piso, if we may believe Cicero, did not comport himself on this occasion with the dignity befitting a Consul. The Tribunes opposed the decree against the judges of Clodius. "The Senate," writes Cicero to Atticus³, "is angry, and the knights are estranged from it. Thus has this year (693) beheld the overthrow of two pillars of the State, which my exertions had set up; the Senate has lost its dignity, and the harmony of the two orders is destroyed."*

¹ *Ep.* 22, 3.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

² *Comp.* i. 1.
with *Epp.* 23,
8. (*Att.* i. 18.);
26, 6. (*Att.* ii. 1.)

³ *Ep.* 23, 4.
(*Att.* i. 18.)
Comp. 26, 6.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

During all these transactions, Pompeius did nothing; or rather he pursued a line of conduct which ought to have opened the eyes of every unprejudiced person, and clearly manifested that he only aimed at establishing his own power and influence on a secure basis, and reviving once more the dictatorial power of Sulla, his original patron, though indeed without making use of Sulla's means. But he failed to see the impossibility of maintaining such influence without a constant succession of brilliant actions. He succeeded in raising to the Consulship Afranius, his

* Caesar no sooner became Consul than he released the knights from one third of their liabilities. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 7.

former legate, a man whom Dio calls an excellent dancer, but a bad statesman¹, and who was in no way equal to the actual posture of affairs. Cicero makes repeatedly the most severe remarks upon him, and considers his Consulship a stain on his patron's reputation.*² Pompeius, on his part, well aware that no one would think Afranius fit for his post, had recourse, as Cicero says, to the engine by which Philip of Macedon thought himself able to reduce any fortress whatever. Soon a rumour went forth, that the Consul Piso was distributing bribes at his own house; and Cato and his brother-in-law Domitius immediately sought to oppose the evil by drawing up edicts against such proceedings. Metellus Celer, meanwhile, the colleague elect of Afranius, was incensed against Pompeius for divorcing his sister Mucia.

Pompeius made his triumphal entry into Rome on the 30th of September (693), which was also his birthday. The pageant was the most brilliant of the kind that had been yet seen, and was contrived in every way to dazzle the populace. Among other tablets, inscribed with the names of nine hundred subjugated cities and a thousand fortresses, one was carried before him, on which he was designated as the conqueror of the world.³ Three hundred and twenty-four princes and chiefs of vanquished nations, clad in the habits of their own countries, preceded the chariot of the victor, which glittered with jewels and precious stones; the treasures and valuables displayed for the gratification of the people surpassed all calculation. Nor did Pompeius scorn to appropriate to himself on this occasion the glory really due to his predecessors.⁴ Cæsar, on his part, renounced the honours of a triumph, because it would have stood in the way of his attainment of the

* This L. Afranius is the same whom Cæsar worsted in the civil war in Spain, A.U. 705.

¹ Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 49.

² Ep. 24, 4.; 25, 6. (Att. i. 19, 20.)

³ Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 21.

⁴ Dio. Cass. xxxvi. 2.

Consulate*, and besides he looked forward to the certainty of gaining yet more brilliant triumphs at some future day. But with regard to Pompeius, great as was the splendour with which he now made his appearance, it could not blind him to the disagreeable fact that the Senate still withheld its ratification from his acts in Asia.¹ On this point, his creature Afranius was unable to effect anything for him.

¹ Dio Cass. xxxvii. 49.

After his triumph was over, Pompeius caused a law to be proposed by the Tribune Flavius (in the year 694) for the partition of lands amongst his soldiers.² There was nothing popular in this law but the name of its originator; yet it experienced the most violent opposition from the Senatorial party. Cicero, however, hesitated to declare himself decidedly against it, and contented himself with endeavouring to remove every point which could be prejudicial to the possessors of the lands.³ The apprehensions excited by some disturbances which had broken out in Gaul soon cooled down the ardour both of the defenders and opponents of this law, which was at first so great that on one occasion the Tribune Flavius had caused the Consul Metellus to be arrested.⁴ It was not carried. Pompeius himself, ashamed of having given occasion to such scenes, broke off his connection with the Tribune, and repented of having disbanded his army.⁵ He now felt how insignificant in reality his power was.

² Epp. 23, 8.; 24, 4. (Att. i. 18, 19.)

³ Ep. 24, 4. (Att. i. 19.)

⁴ Ep. 26, 6. (Att. ii. 1.)

⁵ Dio. Cass. xxxvii. 50.

Though Cicero could now see through the character of Pompeius, and detected his weaknesses with a keen eye†⁶, he still remained steadfast to him. Perhaps, like many men of sanguine disposition, he was apt very easily to change his opinion of people, and to think more favourably of

⁶ Epp. 22. 4.; 25, 3.; 23, 8. (Att. i. 17.—i. 20.—i. 18.)

* A. U. 694, after his victorious administration as Prætor in Spain. Dio Cass. xxxvii. 54. App. B. C. ii. 2.

† Cicero frequently gives Pompeius nicknames, such as Sampsiceramus, after an Arabian prince, on whose subjugation he especially prided himself.

them as soon as they flattered him. And Pompeius was no doubt wise enough to keep such a man on his own side. He knew how to turn his foibles to his own account. Thus on one occasion he said to him in the presence of many people, "In vain should I have laboured to gain a third triumph, had not you saved the city for me to triumph in."¹ Cicero was well pleased to observe that the populace regarded him as the confidant of Pompeius, and greeted them both with loud applause when they made their appearance in the Circus: he smiled when the unfledged youngsters who had rioted with Catilina spoke among themselves of his illustrious friend by the name of Cnæus Cicero.² It was indeed his constant endeavour to stand well with all parties in Rome, as far as his political principles allowed; and in this he was successful: his kind and conciliatory demeanour gained him the good will even of Catilina's reckless adherents, whom his severity after the discovery of the plot had naturally alienated from him.³

But, with regard to his relations with Pompeius, Cicero had another important reason, and a nobler one too, for remaining firm to him. This he explains clearly in the following words to his friend:—"As things now stand, any difference between me and Pompeius cannot fail to occasion the most terrible discord in the State. I have therefore taken all possible care that no such difference should arise: and this, not so as to involve any departure from my own sound principles, but so as to turn him if possible to better thoughts, and cause him to abandon somewhat of his mischievous love of popularity: and this you may know, that he now speaks of my political conduct, against which many persons had prejudiced him, with more praise than he does of his own deeds. For he bears me this witness, that whilst he only served the State.

¹ *De Off.* i. 22. Comp. *Ep.* 24, 6. (*Att.* i. 19.)

² *Ep.* 21, 6. (*Att.* i. 16.)

³ *Ep.* 24, 6. (*Att.* i. 19.) Comp. 21, 6. (*Att.* i. 16.)

essfully, I saved it. How far his speaking in this
 ner may be of service to me, I know not; but it is
 oubtedly useful to the State. What if I should like-
 succeed in inspiring better thoughts into Cæsar.”¹

Ep. 26, 6.
Comp. 25, 3.
(Att. II. 1.
Att. I. 20.)

people are lawless and ungovernable; among the
 icians are many unworthy members who flatter them
 make common cause with them. This ought to bind
 Optimates the closer together; but they are few in
 ber, and stand in need of some great leader under
 m to marshal themselves. Pompeius has at present
 greatest name; true, he is too much bent on gaining
 ularity, and that not always in the most creditable way
 et he is an Optimate at heart; and as the only heir of
 a, though he might wish to relax the chord which his
 ecessor had too tightly strained, he would never aban-
 the Republic, that many-toned instrument which a rude
 h might so easily destroy, to the reckless hands of the
 le, and of the Magnates who count upon them. In
 view he considered himself and Pompeius, in spite of
 foibles which the latter so frequently displayed, as the
 guards of the Republic. And he had indeed good rea-
 in after times to look back with pleasure and self-
 obation on the three years succeeding his Consulate.

Senate, that rock on which Rome's greatness rested,
 gh shaken and soon to be utterly destroyed, was as
 erect to outward view, honoured and powerful; and
 ro after his glorious Consulate, and especially since
 noble Catulus was no more, stood first in reputation
 ng its members. Proof of this was given during the
 sulate of Metellus and Afranius, when dangerous dis-
 ances having broken out in Gaul, certain Consulars
 e to be chosen by lot to send there. The lot fell first
 Cicero; but all the senators declared with one accord

Ep. 24, 3.
(*Att.* i. 19.)
² *Ep.* 148, 4.
(*Div.* i. 9.)

that he must not leave the city. A similar resolution was next made in the case of Pompeius. This was one of the brightest days in Cicero's life; and the honour was one which he had well merited.¹ Six years later he wrote thus to the Proconsul Lentulus²: "I bear in mind that during my Consulship, on the 1st of January, so firm a foundation was laid for the stability of the Senate, that none need wonder at the courage and authority that body exhibited at the nones of December*; and likewise that down to the Consulship of Cæsar and Bibulus, whilst my opinion, though that of a private citizen, had the greatest weight in the Senate, the sentiments of the Good Men were almost all alike."

³ *Ep.* 26, 6.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

But there was one more farsighted than Pompeius or Cicero, who nourished bolder projects than the former, and was gifted with greater power to bring them into execution; and it is not a little remarkable that Cicero mentions the name of Cæsar at the close of the passage above quoted³, expressing a doubtful hope that he might succeed in bringing him to a better mind. Such hope might well be doubtful; for he must already have anticipated what he says at a later period, in his brilliant description of the Optimates in his speech for Sestius. He there calls them "the rock and defence of ceremonies and auspices; of the authority of the magistrates and the dignity of the Senate; of ancient custom, of law and justice; of credit, of the provinces, of the allies; of war, of glory, and of empire." "Greater," he says, "are the power and resources of our enemies than of our defenders; since rash and reckless men are driven forward by the slightest hint, and are ready enough to revolt against the State of their own accord; so that the better men, anxious to preserve peace even at the expense of

* On which day the condemnation of the Catilinarians was passed. *Pro Flacco*, 40.

dignity, often lose both by delay and hesitation. But those who would help the Optimates to defend the Commonwealth, either betray them from caprice, or shrink from them through timidity. Thus the Optimates are left to stand alone." *

There were indeed but few in the Senate to whom Cicero could look with any hope for the salvation of the State. Hortensius, unquestionably one of the best and most influential of the senators, had given a strong proof of defective judgment in the affair of Clodius; Cato spoke in the Senate "as though he were living in Plato's republic, not amongst the dregs of the people of Romulus."¹ His severity against the knights in the above mentioned affair had widened the breach between that order and the Senate; Favonius was only "Cato's ape;" he caricatured his pattern, and displayed his own incapacity. The noble Catulus died the same year that Cæsar returned from Spain (694); of him Cicero says, "Neither the storms of danger, nor the breeze of honour, neither fear nor hope, could ever seduce him from the principles of his life."² Elsewhere³ he says: "I now tread the path of the Optimates without a patron and without a companion."³ Besides these there were indeed but few exceptions to the character he gives of the remaining senators: "They think they touch the sky with their fingers, if they have bearded mullets in their fish-ponds, which come to feed from their hands; little care have they for the fortunes of the Republic." †⁴

¹ *Ep.* 26. (*Att.* ii. 1.)

² *Pro Sest.* 47.

³ *Ep.* 25, 4. (*Att.* i. 20.)

⁴ *Ep.* 26, 6. (*Att.* ii. 1.)

* *Pro Sestio.* 46, 47. In this speech Cicero describes the Optimates, in his sense of the word (the best citizens), at full length.

† [We can hardly doubt that Cicero covertly includes both Lucullus and Hortensius in this charge of unworthy trifling. Varro (*de Re Rust.* iii. 17.) gives a curious description of their fish-ponds. Lucullus, it is said, "cut through a mountain" to introduce sea water into his preserve; for which Pompeius gave him the nickname of *Xerxes Togatus*. (Pompeius was particularly jealous of his Asiatic victories.) Hortensius, we are told by Macro-

In looking through the letters of this period we seem to be contemplating the plot of a well contrived tragedy. We have before us Pompeius, who after having done his part towards shaking the fabric of the State, now at the summit of his greatness, returns to Rome, but only to see the last rays of his fortune extinguished; Cæsar, conscious of his powers and of his superior influence, watching the moment which was to give full scope for their display; the State itself scarcely escaped from the ruin with which Catilina had threatened it, governed by men who were, with few exceptions, incapable and selfish voluptuaries; the people for the most part a lawless and undisciplined rabble, at the service of any one who would flatter and court them by supplying their wants, or gratifying their love of pleasure; the solemnities of religion outraged by a Clodius, and the culprit acquitted by corrupt judges through the oversight of an Hortensius; the virtues of a Cato in such a community utterly lost; in a word we see the Republic ripe for destruction. Finally, amidst this gloom and danger, we behold one man who, loving his country with a patriot's ardour, turns fondly to the good old times, though himself a son of these latter days; sees the fatal moment approach¹; hastens his own ruin by provoking a scoundrel; and leans for support on a chieftain who will abandon him in the time of need, only to fall himself after preparing a place for one yet mightier, destined in his turn to destroy the Republic altogether. The interest of the tragedy is heightened by the circumstance, that Cæsar, the man on whose destinies all turns, is scarcely brought before our notice in the letters of this period. His name occurs for the first time in one of the

¹ *Ep.* 23, 2.
(*Att.* i. 18.)

bis (*Saturn*, ii. 9.), moistened his planes with wine. For the extravagance of the Roman fish-ponds see *Plin. Hist. Nat.* ix. 80. : *Martial*, x. 30.]

latest; and the words have an ominous sound—"Cæsar, for whom the breeze now blows most favourably."*

Let us now turn to that portion of Cicero's life which is not devoted to politics. We find him full of occupation as a public advocate. Besides the oration against Metellus already mentioned, it appears from his letters that he delivered many speeches the same year, which like that are no longer extant. And as patron he defended P. Cornelius Sulla in one which we still possess, and of which mention has already been made. In the year 693, he delivered the speeches against Clodius, of which a fragment only is preserved in a letter to Atticus.¹ It is ¹ *Ep.* 21, 5. (*Att.* i. 16.) greatly to be regretted that we do not possess those he addressed to the Senate in the presence of Pompeius on the same occasion, of which he speaks himself in such high terms.² The speech for the poet Archias should ² *Ep.* 19, 5. (*Att.* i. 14.) probably be referred to the same year; and in the following he defended (in a speech no longer extant) P. Scipio Nasica, subsequently the brother-in-law of Pompeius, against Favonius, who had assailed him with a charge of bribery.³ Meanwhile he collected such of his political ³ *Ep.* 26, 7. (*Att.* ii. 1.) orations as he considered most important, twelve in number, and which, as they were all delivered during his Consulship, he called his consular orations. This collection he wished to bring into general notice in order to kindle in the Roman youth emulation of the models there displayed of true nobility and greatness.†

* *Ep.* 26, 6. (*Att.* ii. 1.) *Cæsar, cujus nunc venti valde sunt secundi.*

† Cicero himself enumerates these twelve speeches (*Ep.* 26, 2., *Att.* ii. 1.) 1. *In Senatu Kal. Jun. (contra Rullum).* 2. *Ad populum de lege agraria.* 3. *De Othone* (now lost). 4. *Pro Rabirio.* 5. *De proscriptionum filiis.* 6. *Quum provinciam in concione deposuit* (both lost). 7—10. *Catilinariæ.* 11, 12. Two shorter speeches on the *Lex Agraria* (the third against Rullus; the other we do not know of). In *Ep.* 18, 6. we may

¹ *Ep.* 24, 8.
(*Att.* i. 19.)

² *Ep.* 26, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

³ *Ep.* 29. (*Qu.*
fr. i. 1.)

⁴ *Ep.* 27, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 2.)

In the year 694 he wrote, both in Greek and Latin, the history of his Consulship.¹ The Greek he sent to Atticus, in order that he might look it over, and point out any departure from the pure Attic idiom. He describes the great care and attention with which he had composed this work, endeavouring to keep close to the rules and examples of Isocrates and Aristotle.² From the same passage we may also conclude that he had not been sparing of self-commendation. He sent the work likewise to the philosopher Posidonius of Rhodes, in order to stimulate him to write upon the same subject with greater skill and elegance of style.* He next composed a poem upon his Consulship in the Latin language, a fragment of which is preserved in his twenty-ninth letter.³

Besides these occupations, and numerous others, in which he was engaged, we find him deep in the study of the works of celebrated authors: for instance in those of Dicaearchus the Aristotelian, whose political writings he warmly praises.⁴ His appetite for knowledge was voracious. His friend Pætus the amiable and sportive epicurean, in whose society he often took refuge from severe labours, and with whom we become better acquainted from many subsequent letters, had presented him with the library of Servius Claudius, whose property he had inherited. Claudius had died in Greece, or at all events had left his books there, and Cicero writes to Atticus: “As you love me, as you trust I love you, set your friends, your clients, your guests, and even your freedmen and

see a proof that Cicero, after delivering a speech, was wont to polish and make additions to it.

* Atticus likewise narrated the Consulship of Cicero in Greek, *Ep.* 26, 1., and Corn. Nepos, *vit. Att.* Others did the same. See *Ep.* 27, 2. [where Schütz, Ernesti, &c. suppose such to have been the case with Herodes, whom Cicero says, *conjurasse mallet quam restitisse conjurationi si illi mihi audiendum putarem.*]

slaves, to work, to see that no scrap may be lost. Daily do I find more refreshment in these studies after the labours of the Forum.”¹ He thus sought to win for himself, and through himself for the Roman world, those laurels which had hitherto adorned the Greeks; and he was aware how far he had already been successful: he says to Atticus, “I have made the Greeks jealous.”²

¹ *Ep.* 25, 8.;
Comp. 26, 12.
(*Att.* i. 20.;
ii. 1.)

² *Ep.* 26, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

Devoted as he was to these occupations, and so diligent in the employment of his time, it was natural that he should desire to keep aloof from the diversions which pleased the generality of the people, both high and low. To escape from the gladiatorial shows given by the Consul Metellus, he retired to Antium, where he possessed an estate.³ Here he seems to have employed himself with the publication of his twelve consular speeches.

³ *Ep.* 26, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

Men whose faculties are devoted to political and scientific pursuits, are frequently found to display a certain degree of coldness in the tenderer relations of life. It is a delightful spectacle where the great statesman and scholar appears likewise in the character of the affectionate husband, father, and friend. Thus it was with Cicero; and it is touching to hear him pour out his whole heart to his friend just after the unfortunate affair of Clodius, when all the hopes he had built on the Equestrian order were dashed to the ground, under the Consulate of Afranius. In the absence of Atticus and of his beloved brother, he says his only hours of recreation are those which he spends with his wife, his dear daughter, and his sweet infant Cicero⁴; and again after uttering imprecations on the false and selfish connexions of the Forum: “Neither my hours of toil or rest, neither business nor idleness, neither my public nor my domestic life, can dispense any longer with your society and advice, so valuable on every matter in which I am concerned.”⁵

⁴ *Ep.* 23, 1.
(*Att.* i. 18.)

⁵ *Ep.* 22, 2.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

¹ *Ep.* 22, 1.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

The passages in which he mentions his brother Quintus at this period deserve particular attention. He describes him as a man of sanguine and irritable temperament¹, friendly and genial, easily offended, but as easily pacified; tender-hearted, and possessed of great kindness of disposition. But these qualities, though accompanied by an excellent understanding, were not based upon strength of character or will; and we shall see in the sequel into what errors such a disposition could lead him. That Quintus possessed considerable talent is evident from the long letter his elder brother addressed to him when he was Pro-

² *Ep.* 29. (*Qu.*
fr. i. 1.)

prætor of the province of Asia², whither he was sent in 693, the year after he had held, in conjunction with Cæsar, the office of Prætor. It is true he was free from the common vices of Roman governors, corruption and avarice; but his fault was that he trusted others too easily, and his administration was wanting in that vigorous and uncompromising spirit of justice which is the first virtue of every man who fills an official station, whether it be great or small. In many of Cicero's letters to Atticus we perceive how much he had it at heart, that his brother's conduct should be above reproach. Nothing mean or dishonourable, he felt, ought to attach to the name of Cicero, the name of one who aspired to be regarded as chief of the Optimates. On this account he exerted all his influence to get his brother's office prolonged a second year, hoping he might thus retrieve the errors of the first. It was in fact prolonged to a third year, against the wishes of both and thereupon the elder Cicero addressed the younger in the long letter with which the present period closes; a letter which might rather be called a treatise on the right government of a province. So rich in fact is it in the noblest political principles and moral axioms, and in expressions of gratitude to a people to whom he owed much

of his own mental culture, so full of worldly wisdom, and betraying so profound a knowledge of human nature, so pure, moreover, and lofty is the style in which it is written, that it deserves to be considered a model of its kind. It is at the same time a monument of true fraternal affection, endeavouring to efface or mitigate the sense of a brother's errors by the remembrance of his virtues. Nor is this affection less strongly displayed in a letter to Atticus on occasion of some domestic disagreements between him and Quintus, who was his friend's brother-in-law.¹ Towards his brother's son, Cicero entertained similar kind feelings.² He was an indulgent master to his slaves, where they deserved his kindness. At a subsequent period we shall be gratified with observing his relations with Tiro. In one of his present letters he laments the death of his reader Sositheus³, and the words are worth remarking: "His death has distressed me more than a slave's death should."

There are three letters only extant of the year 692, and none of these addressed to Atticus, who seems to have gone to Greece towards the end of this year. There are seven of 693, all addressed to the same correspondent, with the exception of one to C. Antonius. Of the year 694, besides the long epistle to Quintus already mentioned, we have six letters, all to Atticus: of these the fifth is dated from Tusculum. After the Ides of March 694, Cicero went into the country. He returned to Rome from his Pompeian villa, on the 12th of May.⁴ On the 1st of June we find him journeying to Antium, from whence he seems to have proceeded to another of his estates⁵; but in the course of the same month he was again in Rome. He could not at this period gratify that ardent desire for a life of studious retirement in the country, which he already expresses in such

¹ *Ep.* 22. 1, 2.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

² *Ep.* 27. 1.
(*Att.* ii. 2.)

³ *Ep.* 16. 5.
(*Att.* i. 12.)

⁴ *Ep.* 25. 1.
(*Att.* i. 20.)

⁵ *Ep.* 26. 1.
(*Att.* ii. 1.)

strong terms. Melancholy circumstances gave him more leisure in the year next ensuing, which we shall proceed to examine, after saying a few words on his character in general.

¹ Dio Cass.
xxxvi. 25.

Many and bitter are the charges to which Cicero has been subjected. Dio Cassius, for instance, says¹: "Cicero pretended that the balance of the State was in his hands, and gave the Senate and people to understand that whichever scale he threw the weight into, would undoubtedly sink. He was a mere timeserver, and passed, now to one side, now to the other, in order to curry favour alternately with each." But if we read with an unprejudiced mind the letters hitherto brought before us, we shall surely pass a different judgment upon him. Cicero's intentions towards his country were upright; but no hand less powerful than Cæsar's could have extricated it from the confusion in which it was then involved. Cicero was no Cæsar. He aimed at preserving; an object no longer to be attained in the straight and honest course trodden by the great men of Rome's better days. Cæsar found it equally impossible to bring his bold conceptions to effect by the methods of right and justice. Nor can we wonder, however we must lament it, that in times so corrupt as these, even Cicero should not have been altogether free from prevalent errors and defects. His early connexion with Catilina has been already noticed, and the compact, not less discreditable, which existed apparently between him and Antonius; as likewise his defence of that worthless man, who had committed such illegal acts in Macedonia. We are surprised also at the lukewarmness he at first manifested in the case of Clodius*; nor, finally, can we fail to be struck with the conscious pride and satisfaction, deserving often no better name than vanity, which

* *Ep. 18, 3. (Att. i. 13.): nosmetipsi, qui Lycurgci a principio fuissetus, quotidie demitigamur.*

obtrudes itself upon us in many passages of his letters.* On the other hand, our reprobation of these failings is in a great measure softened by the candour and freedom with which he discusses all his concerns with his friend. Other pleasing features in his character are the disinterested spirit of which we have such numerous indications in his correspondence (for example *Ep.* 29, 9.); the genuine humanity of his disposition, of which among others there is an unmistakeable proof in his twenty-second letter; and his gratitude to those to whom he was indebted for real and lasting benefits.† Who can read without emotion these words in his letter to his brother? ¹ “Had fate <sup>*Ep.* 29, 9.
(*Qu. fr.* i. 1.)</sup> transplanted you amongst rude and barbarous nations, such as Africa, Spain, or Gaul, your sense of humanity would indeed have prompted you to make every provision for their welfare and advantage. But placed as you are over a nation which is the seat and home of humanity itself, and from whence it has penetrated to others, truly you are bound to exercise it in their behalf from whom we have ourselves derived it.”

How amiable Cicero appears as a husband, a father, or a friend, has already been noticed. The evidence of this is sure and irrefragable. He enters into no eloquent disquisitions on love or friendship in his letters, but contents himself with imparting to his friend the tone and sentiments of his heart. But we must make a distinction between his letters to Atticus, Quintus, and some of his more intimate friends, and such as are written to mere political allies, concerning whom, as we have seen, he expresses himself with some severity to Atticus in his

* How often too in his speeches : *O nonæ illæ Decembres, quæ me consule fuistis ! quem ego diem vere natalem hujus urbis aut certe salutarem appellare possum.* *Pro Flacc.* 40.

† *Pietas, gravissimum et sanctissimum nomen.* *Ep.* 148, 1. (*Div.* i. 9.)

¹ *Att.* i. 18.

twenty-third letter.¹ In the one class we see Cicero the statesman portrayed; in the other the man himself.

² Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 8.³ *Ep.* 28, 3. (*Att.* ii. 3.)⁴ *Ep.* 28, 3. (*Att.* ii. 3.)⁵ *Ep.* 19, 4. (*Att.* i. 14.)⁶ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 9.

And now his political firmness was to be exposed to a severe trial. The close of the year 694 drew near; Cæsar, his Proprætorship having expired, had returned from Spain, where in the midst of his legions he had acted as an independent sovereign.² The Consulship of the next year awaited his acceptance. Cicero foresaw that an agrarian law similar to that proposed by Pompeius would immediately be brought forward.³ Nor could he doubt as to the further projects which Cæsar cherished in his mind. Cornelius Balbus, the Proprætor's intimate friend, came to him with the assurance that Cæsar intended to consult him and Pompeius on all his measures; and to use his utmost endeavours to effect an union between the latter and Crassus⁴, for these two were now enemies, and the panegyric Crassus had pronounced in the Senate upon Cicero, the day Pompeius was questioned concerning the affair of Clodius⁵, was no doubt mainly intended for that statesman's annoyance. Pompeius had hitherto been unable to extort from the Senate a ratification of the bold and arbitrary arrangements he had made in the kingdoms and provinces of Asia. Lucullus was foremost in opposing him, and was seconded by Crassus.⁶ But Cæsar, who had already attracted Crassus to himself, found the means of gaining Pompeius likewise, and this he effected by promising him the confirmation of his acts in Asia, with or without the ratification of the Senate. Pompeius and Crassus were accordingly reconciled with each other, and exerted themselves to the utmost to promote Cæsar's election. Crassus, who possessed unbounded wealth, did not spare his gold; and thus was laid the foundation of the first triumvirate.* But to Cæsar it was of no small

* Varro wrote a specific tract on this alliance, which he calls a triple-headed monster, *τρικέφαλον*, [in allusion to Cerberus]. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 9

consequence that Cicero should be included also in this league; a man so highly favoured by the people, so much considered by the Senate and the knights, could not fail to add force and authority to his schemes. Cicero, on his part, felt, as he wrote at the end of this year to Atticus, that a grave and arduous crisis of his life was at hand. Clodius was aspiring to the Tribunate, and used such threatening language against him, that he already thought of summoning his friend to his aid.¹ Should he unite himself now with Cæsar and his associates, doubtless it would secure his safety: but he must sacrifice his political principles. Should he, on the other hand, refuse the proffered alliance, not only would he risk the loss of that influence in the State which he alone could at this moment wield, but his life itself was in danger. “With Pompeius,” he writes², “I am closely connected; it rests with me whether I choose to ally myself with Cæsar also. In that case my foes will be conciliated; with the multitude I shall remain at peace; my old age may hope for tranquillity. But my decision is guided by the maxims I have myself laid down in the third book of my poem on my Consulate: ‘Keep thou the path, which thou trodest in thy youth, and followedst as Consul with brave heart and manly virtue. Stand fast therein, and wax in renown and good men’s approbation.’” * This is the precept of Calliope herself, inscribed by me in a volume replete with genuine aristocratic principles, and my motto shall always be that of Hector: —

εἰς αἰῶνός ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πατρὸς.†

* *Interea cursus quos prima a parte iuventa,
Quosque adeo consul virtute animoque parasti,
Hos retine, atque auge famam, laudesque bonorum.*

† Hom. *Il.* xii. 243.

BOOK III.

LETTERS OF CICERO,

IN THE YEAR

695. B. C. 59.

CÆSAR'S FIRST CONSULATE.

BOOK III.

CÆSAR'S FIRST CONSULATE.

THE Triumvirate, as it is called, of Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompeius, of which however there could be no formal or public recognition, was established at the end of the year preceding; and Cicero had it now in his power to show whether the expressions quoted from his last letter were merely transient ebullitions of the excited feeling which often causes a man to overestimate his own powers, or whether he was indeed the statesman qualified to save the Republic from impending ruin.* From the tone which prevails in the first letters of the period on which we are now entering, it is evident that he laboured under great depression of spirits and bitter indignation, and was determined to have nothing more to do with public affairs, which had fallen into the hands of those three chiefs, their creatures and dependants.† Nor, remembering the light in which he always regarded the period of his own administration, can we wonder at his mortification.

* We have twenty-three letters of this period, all addressed to Atticus, except one to Quintus. In the early months of this year, we find Cicero on his estates, and the first letter is dated from Tusculum; from the second to the sixth, from his villa at Antium; the seventh from Tres Tabernæ; the eighth from Forum Appii; the ninth to the fourteenth from his house at Formiæ; and the remaining nine from Rome.

† Ep. 30, 5. (*Att. ii. 4.*) *Statui nihil jam de republica cogitare.* Ep. 33, 2 (*Att. ii. 7.*) *Cupio istorum naufragia ex terra intueri.*

Whether it were owing to this state of feeling, or whether in consequence of the advice of Atticus, Cicero quitted the city early in the year (perhaps in February), and repaired to his villa at Tusculum¹, to divert himself with his studies. He next visited and resided for a while at some of his other estates. He wished to compose a geographical work², in order to enrich the literature of his country in this branch of science, as he had done in others, and display the capacities of the Roman genius and language in a fresh field of knowledge. For this purpose he had provided himself with Greek books treating on the subject. His friend urged him to set to work; but he lacked the energy and freedom of mind necessary for such an undertaking. "I am become a perfect idler," he wrote to Atticus from Antium, whither he had gone from Tusculum³; "I amuse myself with reading, or with counting the waves: the idea of composition is hateful to me." He says further in the first letter of the present period⁴: "I am firmly resolved to think no more about public affairs. In these times the life of every good man is insecure." Again he writes from his Formian villa in April⁵: "So utterly unnerved am I, that I feel I would rather live under the sway of a tyrant, in the idleness in which I am now languishing, than engage again in public strife, though with the best prospects of success." He studied to assume an aspect of deep melancholy: and he accordingly avoided the games which were held at Antium during his residence in the vicinity.⁶

¹ *Ep.* 30, 7.
(*Att.* ii. 4.)

² *Ep.* 32, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 6.)

³ *Ep.* 32, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 6.)

⁴ *Ep.* 30, 5.
(*Att.* ii. 4.)

⁵ *Ep.* 40, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 14.)

⁶ *Ep.* 37.
(*Att.* ii. 10.)

Cæsar's grand design now approached its fulfilment. Pompeius had played into his hands admirably; and, though many might regard the elder statesman as Cicero once did, he must have felt conscious in his own mind how insignificant a part he was beginning to act in public affairs, and been the more induced to attach himself to the younger

and stronger. Cæsar was a great gainer by his connexion with Pompeius. His success in persuading the Senate to ratify all that had been done in Asia, involved no sacrifice whatever on his own part; while Pompeius, who had nothing so much at heart, became in consequence firmly bound to him. And now, his reputation once again enhanced in the eyes of superficial observers by this alliance, Pompeius for a time felt renewed strength, and even ventured, at least in Cicero's opinion, to cherish dreams of monarchy.¹ Many influential men among his adherents supported Cæsar's projects; and the latter, by effecting a reconciliation between Pompeius and the wealthy and powerful Crassus, begot a notion, that nothing could withstand the compact he had founded. He had won them over by the argument that their mutual hostility could not fail to enhance the influence of such men as Cicero and Cato; while an union of interests would reduce them to insignificance.² He was conscious withal that his rivals would keep each other in check; while he, on his part, reaped the fruits of their mutual alliance. On the other hand, it was of small advantage to the Optimates that they succeeded in giving him M. Bibulus for a colleague, instead of Lucceius, whom he wished for, and with whom he had made a compact for attaining the Consulship together.³ This election, to obtain which bribery had been employed, and that with the consent of Cato himself⁴, served in the end only to afford signal proof both of the Optimates' weakness and of Cæsar's power. Gladly would Cæsar have gained Cicero too; but in this he failed: Cicero's principles forbade such an alliance; so did the pride which his Consulship had created and fostered in him. But he felt himself now utterly powerless to swim against the stream. The citizens, he perceived, were getting weary of him⁵ — he should be compelled to stand by, a mere

¹ *Ep.* 43, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 17.)

² *Plut. Crass.*
14.

³ *Ep.* 22, 5.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

⁴ *Suet. Jul.*
19.; *Appian,*
B. C. ii. 9.

⁵ *Ep.* 31, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 5.)

spectator of the mighty events which were preparing; he could no longer place confidence in those who called themselves Optimates, but who showed him no gratitude for the great services he had rendered their party^{*1}: and hence resulted the despondency we remark in him at the beginning of the year 695. How he came notwithstanding to offer no opposition to this state of things is easily explained from his character and circumstances. He was a man of lively fancy, great in the toga, but no hero in the ordinary sense of the term. When he wrote that letter to Atticus, the last of the past year (694)², it might possibly have appeared to him a grand and not altogether impracticable idea to lift his arm against the possessors of power, and, if a higher destiny so decreed, to bury himself in the ruins of the Republic. But a lively imagination is wont to enfeeble energy and resolution, and how deficient Cicero was in these qualities† we shall have striking evidence in the next portion of his letters. Besides, since the days of Marius, all the chief concerns of State had come to be decided by arms. Now Pompeius was the first captain of the time; Cæsar had trained himself to war in his province; and the military reputation even of Crassus was such that he might fairly connect himself with them.‡ But Cicero was no warrior; and he might now feel that this single circumstance must decide his future position in public affairs.

Meanwhile, as they could not gain over Cicero, Cæsar and Pompeius wished to find some honourable means of

* Hortensius was, however, an exception to this.

† At least at this period; for at the close of his life, as well as during his Consulate, he surpassed himself in respect of these virtues.

‡ [Pompeius, being summoned to bring the war with Spartacus to a close, had snatched from Crassus laurels which he had already fairly gained; but Crassus had distinguished himself in the contest with the Marians, and had won for Sulla the victory of the Colline Gate.]

¹ Ep. 42. 1.
(Att. II. 16.)

Ep. 28.
(Att. II. 3.)

getting rid of him. They entertained, it seems, at one time, the notion of sending him to Egypt, to reconcile the king, Ptolemæus Auletes, with his people, and to declare him a friend and ally of the Romans.* Cicero, who had heard of this, or some similar scheme from Atticus†, eagerly caught at the idea.¹ He had long wished to visit Egypt; the mission was an honourable one; it would remove him from the scenes which had become so loathsome to him; and (so spoke the flattering voice of self-love), perhaps, when once he had left them, his countrymen would desire to have him back again. Yet, by thus complying with the will of the Triumvirs, he felt he should incur reproaches from the few who shared his sentiments in the Senate, and principally from Cato.² He was, however, spared the difficulty of deciding, for the whole scheme fell to the ground; Ptolemæus being forced by his people to fly to Rome. He bestowed a transient thought on the office of Augur, a vacancy having been caused by the death of Q. Metellus Celer‡; but it does not seem to have occupied his mind long, although he confesses to Atticus that this was the

¹ Ep. 31, 1. 7.
(Att. ii. 5.).

² Ep. 31, 1.
(Att. ii. 5.).

* Alexander III., king of Egypt, was deposed by his subjects, and Ptolemæus Auletes raised to his throne. The Egyptians found themselves no better off under this vain and incapable monarch, who maintained himself only by means of Pompeius, whom he loaded with presents. Pompeius sought to get for him the title of Friend and Ally of Rome, and disposed Cæsar in his interests. The Egyptians, on the other hand, found a patron in Bibulus, but he effected nothing for them. In order to collect the vast sums he had promised his powerful allies, Ptolemæus oppressed his people; they rose against him, and he fled to Rome.

† Atticus, who had returned to Italy at the end of the preceding year, spent the first month of 695 with Cicero in Rome, Ep. 30, 2. (Att. ii. 4.), and remained there when the latter went into the country. Early in the summer he returned to Greece, whither Cicero's first letter from Rome is directed. Ep. 44. (Att. ii, 18.)

‡ See Cicero's lamentations on the death of Metellus, in the speech for Cælius, c. 24.: *quum parietem sæpe feriens eum, qui cum Q. Catulo fuerat communis, crebro Catulum, sæpe me, sæpissime rempublicam nominabat.*

¹ *Ep.* 31, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 5.)

only bait with which the Triumvirs could tempt him.¹ He made no effort to procure it; nor surely would the Triumvirs have wished to retain him in such an office in Rome.

² *Ep.* 44, 3.;
45, 3. (*Att.* ii.
18, 19.)

But Cæsar did not as yet abandon the hope of gaining him, or, at least, of bringing him into a position which would prevent him from obstructing the present and future schemes of the Triumvirate. He courteously invited him

to be his *legatus* in his expected province.² Cicero hesitated for a while, and felt more inclined to accept this post than a *legatio libera* which was offered him at the same time. Certainly it would have secured him more effectually from the persecutions of Clodius; but he deemed himself now sufficiently armed against that danger, and even longed for an encounter with the demagogue.³

³ *Ep.* 44, 3.
(*Att.* ii. 18.,
m. Jun.)

Another proposition, that he should fill the place vacated by the death of one of the twenty commissioners of Cæsar's agrarian law, he rejected with horror. "Nothing," he writes to his friend⁴, "would have disgraced me more in the eyes of the world."

⁴ *Ep.* 45, 3.
(*Att.* ii. 19.,
m. Jul.)

Cicero had penetrated the design of the three confederates, and was convinced that it aimed at the entire subversion of the constitution, such as he and a few others had endeavoured to preserve it. "What can be the object," he writes to Atticus⁵, "of this sudden matrimonial connection? * of this division of lands? and of this lavish expenditure of money? Were this the end, it would be bad enough; but this cannot, in the nature of things, be the end. For what satisfaction can any such measures give them in themselves? They would never have gone so far, had they not meant to prepare the way for further and more ruinous undertakings." The concurring testimony of historians leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the

⁵ *Ep.* 43, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 17.,
m. Mai.)

* Cæsar had given his daughter in marriage to Pompeius.

schemes entertained by the Triumvirs; and the events of Cæsar's Consulship sufficiently bear out their views* as well as Cicero's surmises. Cæsar leagued himself with Pompeius and Crassus, under the agreement that no political measure should take place against the will of any one of the three.¹ At the commencement of his Consulship, Cæsar affected great moderation², and managed to throw on his colleague the suspicion of sowing differences between them.³ But his designs soon stood clearly forth. Among the particular measures which Cicero perceived were to prepare the way for greater projects, was that of the division of lands, just mentioned, proposed in the first month of the year. Pompeius, we have seen, brought forward a similar law, but had failed in carrying it. Cæsar knew better how to attain his object, and managed to invest his proposal with the most specious appearances. The public revenues were not to be diminished. He pretended to give inhabitants and cultivators to the desert tracts of Italy; and to support, by agricultural labour, a number of idle and turbulent citizens. The special provisions of the law were these:—The portion of the Campanian territory which belonged to the State, together with the Campus Stellatis, which an ancient ordinance forbade to be alienated, should be distributed among 20,000 citizens, each having three or more children, burdened, however, with a certain impost; lands held by private proprietors were to be redeemed and divided also among the people.† Cicero clearly perceived that Cæsar's aim was to obtain

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 20.² Dio. Cass. xxxviii. 1.³ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 10.

* See Dio Cass. xxxvii. 51.; Plut. *Cæs.* 13.; *Crass.* 14.; Suet. *Jul.* 20.; Vell. ii. 44.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 10. foll.

† See *Ep.* 43, 1. (*Att.* ii. 17.), with the remarks of Manutius and the commentators on Suet. *Jul.* 20. The first division was effected: but the other, that of the lands belonging to private individuals, was stayed the next year by the Tribune P. Clodius. See some further obstructions, *Ep.* 90. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 1.)

popularity by this enactment. This inspired him with a feeling of dread; and, to tranquillize his fears, he tried to discover some weak point on which the measure was assailable.¹ He seems not yet to have appreciated the mighty intellect of its author, who had taken care so to frame the law, that nothing objectionable could be laid to its charge; a feature wherein is exhibited a wide difference from the former proposition of Rullus. But he soon recognised the genius of the man, who, in spite of the constant opposition of his colleague Bibulus, of Cato, and others, found means of carrying his law, by submitting it, after long and fruitless debates in the Senate, to the vote of the popular assembly.² Pompeius delivered a speech on this occasion, in which he reviewed the measure in detail, and enlarged on its merits. "If any one," he said, in conclusion, to Cæsar, "should draw his weapon against you, I will raise sword and shield in your defence." Crassus, on his part, was not wanting: the Tribune Vatinius, with six others, had been gained over entirely to Cæsar's interests: and thus the resistance of Bibulus, while it caused a tumult on the day of the Rogation, which endangered his own life, was of no avail to his cause; and equally fruitless was the opposition of Cato in the Senate, for which Cæsar had actually ventured to put him under arrest.*

The agrarian law was carried. An additional clause was appended to it, to the effect that every one who sued for any public office should swear to propose no change in it.³ Cæsar also caused the people to swear to its perpetuity; and at the same time obtained from them the enactment of another edict, compelling the Senate and every magistrate to take a similar oath for its ratification. Refusal to take

* "It is not the law, I fear," said Cato, "but the reward which is expected for the law," Cato's arrest was immediately afterwards withdrawn by Cæsar himself, who was ashamed of it. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 3.; Plut. *Cat. min.* 33.

¹ *Ep.* 42, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 16.
m. Mai.)

² Appian,
B. C. ii. 10.
Dio Cass.
xxxviii. 1.
foll.

³ *Ep.* 44, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 18.)

this oath was to be punished with death or banishment. The Tribunes, and even the Senators, who had opposed the law most vehemently, took the oath accordingly; nor did Cato himself resist, when Cicero represented to him that he might well dispense with Rome, but that Rome could not dispense with him.¹ And now twenty men of the first consideration were selected to divide the lands; Pompeius and Crassus being themselves of the number. From this time Cæsar paid no more regard to the Senate, to whom he had recommended his law in its most specious aspect only to give himself an appearance of moderation: henceforth he applied for all his objects directly to the people. The senators, who could never assemble in a body unless summoned by both Consuls, now resorted often to the house of Bibulus, whom they urged to the promulgation of edicts aimed against Cæsar.²

¹ Plut. *Cat. min.* 32.; Appian, *B. C.* ii. 12.; Dio Cass. xxxviii. 7.

² Appian, *l. c.*

How grievously Cicero was vexed by these proceedings, how little Cæsar's many admirable regulations availed to soothe him, appears from several of his letters. From them also we learn that Cæsar was doing his utmost to recommend his law as salutary and unobjectionable before the day of the Rogation arrived. The people in Rome and in those parts of the country where Cicero was residing, gave vent to some murmurs at the proceedings of Cæsar and his associates.³ But this signified little. The enterprising Tribune Vatinius was entirely in the Consul's interests; there were men enough ready to draw the sword for him in the streets of Rome; he understood how to gain the support of the upper class; Cato he had at least rendered powerless to injure him; and Bibulus, whom the rabble had bespattered with dirt on the day of the Rogation, reaped small advantage, either for himself or for the State, from the adulation bestowed upon him by the friends of a constitution now doomed to irretrievable ruin.⁴ Foiled

³ *Ep.* 39, 2.; 44—48. (*Att.* ii. 13.; 18, 22.)

⁴ *Ep.* 41, 1.; 45—47. (*Att.* ii. 15—21.)

¹ Dio Cass.
xxxviii. 6.

in his resistance to the agrarian law, he withdrew to his own house, and proclaimed the remaining days of the year *dies nefasti*, disqualified, that is, for public business.¹ His edicts were read with transport by the friends of the Republic: its enemies at first resented, but were now satisfied with ignoring them.

² Ep. 43, 3.
(Att. ii. 17.)

The knights, in whom Cicero still continued to place some confidence, whose interests he still tried, whenever he could, to favour², were gained to Cæsar by his remitting to them a third of their contracts with the State.* This was just what Cicero wished two years before; but now the knights were indebted for it, not to the Senate but to Cæsar, whom they made their idol accordingly.† Meanwhile he amused and conciliated the people by shows and gladiatorial combats, with profusion and liberality of every kind. In these efforts he far exceeded the limits of his own resources; but he acted on the principle that he who aims at winning the great stake, must not trouble himself about minor matters. Nor does he seem to have been at all scrupulous as to the means of procuring money for this enormous expenditure.³ Yet with all this, we must not lose sight of the fact, that Cæsar's ambition never excluded a genuine zeal for the public welfare. Many admirable laws and institutions, made during his tenure of the Consulship, give evidence of this, and do honour to his political sagacity.‡

³ Suet. Jul.
54.

* Dio Cass. xxxviii. 7.; Suet. Jul. 20. [The publicans in Asia had besought the Senate to release them from the covenants they had unwarily contracted as farmers of the provincial imposts. Cato thought they ought to be kept to the bargains they in their blind rapacity had made, and the refusal had irritated them against the Optimates, and threw them into the hands of the enemy. See above.]

† Appian, B. C. ii. 13., ἐξεθeliaζον αὐτόν.

‡ [These laws related principally to the government of the provinces (e. g. *Lex Julia de pecuniis repetundis*, *lex Julia judiciaria*), and were

Pitiful, meanwhile, was the part played by the great Pompeius, of whom, as early as in May, Cicero wrote : " We have everything to fear : Pompeius affects the tyranny and avows it."* Dio Cassius truly says of him : " Pompeius could now hope for no further extension of his power. When he saw Crassus already in possession of considerable influence, and Cæsar on the way to it, he could not but anticipate the probability of his being overthrown by the united strength of both : but if he made common cause with them, he might hope to rise again to his former consideration.¹ But the history of all times and nations teaches how perilous is the man's position, whose political pre-eminence rests wholly on the support of others. He who had been unable to carry his own agrarian law (for that brought forward by Flavius was indeed his) found himself now compelled to support Cæsar's : he dared not even refuse to be appointed one of the " Twenty," though theirs was an office which Cicero, notwithstanding its external dignity, rejected with indignation as degrading.² He united himself in marriage with a daughter of Cæsar, who had been at an earlier period betrothed to Servilius Cæpio ; and thenceforth he was first asked his opinion by his father-in-law in the Senate, instead of Crassus, who had previously enjoyed that empty distinction.† As early

¹ Dio Cass. xxxvii. 56.

² Ep. 45. 3. (Att. ii. 19.); comp. Vell. ii. 45.

adapted to conciliate the subjects of the Republic, in which Cæsar undoubtedly had a personal object.]

* Ep. 43, 1. (Att. ii. 17.) *ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκέυαζεται*. Comp. Ep. 42, 1. (Att. ii. 16.)

† Appian, B. C. ii. 14.; Suet. Jul. 21. [The form of conducting a debate in the Roman Senate was this: The Consul, or Prætor in his absence, called upon all the members successively to declare their sentiments, which they did either in a speech or by merely assenting to the opinion of some preceding speaker ; in which case they rose from their place and went over to him. At the conclusion of the debate the groups thus assembled were counted. Comp. Plin. Ep. viii. 14. 19. The Consul usually called first upon one of the Consuls elect, next upon the Consulars, the Prætors and other

as the beginning of May Cicero writes to Atticus: "Pompeius is weary of the connexion, and sorely repents having entered into it;"¹ and in a latter letter he says: "He wishes once more to regain the place from which he has been forced to descend; he imparts his distress to me, and sometimes seeks openly to repair it."² His alliance with Cæsar, in fact, brought him no other advantage than the confirmation of his acts in Asia. The people, who know how to discriminate between the real substance of power and its mere outward semblance, now insulted him as freely as they had before applauded him. At the games of Apollo celebrated on the 5th of July, they compelled the actor Diphilus several times to repeat, "Through our misery thou art become great;"* and hailed the words with acclamations. Tremendous was the shout which resounded in the theatre when he uttered the sentence: "The time will come when this thy greatness shall cause thee to sigh deeply."† And these are the words of Cicero: "Our unhappy friend, who until now never knew what unpopularity was, who heard nothing but the voice of praise, who dwelt in an atmosphere of glory, now wretched and desponding, knows not whither to betake himself. He sees that he has proceeded too far, yet to recede were difficult; the good being his enemies, the bad not his friends. But how soft-hearted I am! When he harangued the people

¹ *Ep.* 48, 3.
(*Att.* ii. 22.);
comp. 47, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 21.)

² *Ep.* 49, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 23.)

high magistrates. But he was not bound to any particular order. In Salust's report of the debate upon the punishment of the Catilinarians (*Catil.* 51.) we find Catulus, a Consular, and Princeps Senatus, speaking after Cæsar, who was only Prætor elect. But whatever order the Consul assigned at the commencement of his administration he was expected to maintain throughout. Cæsar's conduct, therefore, in this respect was noticed as an innovation.]

* *Ep.* 45, 2. (*Att.* ii. 19.) *Nostra miseria tu es magnus.* These words are from a tragedy, perhaps one of Attius.

† *Ibid.* *Eandem virtutem istam veniet tempus quum graviter gemes*

on the 25th of July against the edicts of Bibulus, he who formerly was wont to stand so proudly on the same spot, and magnify himself and his own exploits, strong in the people's love, and honoured with universal approbation,—I could not restrain my tears! What a humble, abject tone he now adopted, displeasing both to his audience and himself! Oh, this truly was a spectacle at which none but Crassus could rejoice! * And as Apelles would have felt severe pain could he have seen his Venus, or Protogenes his Ialysus, bespattered with dirt, even thus it was with real grief that I beheld him whom I had laboured to adorn with all the colours of my art, now suddenly defaced.”¹ ¹ Ep. 47, 2. (Att. ii. 21.) Though Cicero's lively fancy, and the pain he really felt, may have led him to some exaggeration in this passage, he assuredly perceived the true bearings of the case; and so he would have done, apart from his mortification at Pompeius officiating as Augur on the occasion of Clodius's adoption into a plebeian house; when he threatened in his anger “to address a glorious Palinode” to him for whom he had once delivered the most magnificent speeches.² ² Scil. pro leg. Manil. Ep. 35, 1. (Att. ii. 9.) If he was sorely distressed at the conduct of Pompeius, he found no consolation in Cato, though he always continued to respect and honour him: thus when the proposed embassy to Egypt was occupying his mind, he quoted with reference to Cato the Homeric verse:—

Πουλυδάμας μοι πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην ἀναθήσει,³

and affirmed that this one man was worth a hundred thousand in his eyes. Yet he admitted that the patriot whose words and deeds were worthy of Plato's republic, could not maintain himself and his virtue in the Roman

³ Ep. 31, 1. (Att. ii. 5.) Hom. II. xxi. 100.

* Whose old hostility to Pompeius had not quite yielded to the political persuasions of Cæsar.

¹ *Ep.* 35. 3.
(*Att.* ii. 9.)

world such as it then was. He even went so far as to ascribe partly to him the subversion of the State.¹ He was probably thinking of the case of the knights, whose claims, already mentioned, Cato was then opposing. And Cato, in fact, found himself, after long refusing, forced at last to swear adhesion to the agrarian law; after which he resisted the measures of Cæsar no further.²

² *Dio Cass.*
xxxviii. 7.

³ *Ep.* 35. 3.
(*Att.* ii. 9.)

Thus had Cæsar become master of Rome. "Believe me," writes Cicero to Atticus³, "the whole State and government have whirled gaily round, with less noise than I could have expected, and swifter than they should; partly through Cato's fault, but more from their iniquity who set at nought laws and auspices, who squandered on kinglings the estates of the Romans, and heaped enormous treasures on their own creatures." We who are privileged to survey the times that followed, and can see how Cæsar's mighty genius, born for dominion, was clearly developed afterwards in his deeds, can pronounce, without hesitation, that all hope of maintaining the Republic was already at an end. But, at the period of Cæsar's Consulship, Cicero cherished other ideas. At its commencement he was, as we have seen, cast down and desponding. But a temperament like his rises again to hope as easily as it yields to despair. He who in the beginning of the year 694 wrote, "The Roman Commonwealth can no longer endure,"⁴ now, when its condition had really become much worse, was once more hopeful. After Cæsar's Rogation, he thus writes to Atticus: "One source of hope yet remains to us—discord between the Triumvirs⁵; and from what Curio tells us, this would seem already to have begun."* And soon afterwards: "Be sure that I have learned

⁴ *Ep.* 23. 2.
(*Att.* i. 18.)

⁵ *Ep.* 33. 2.
(*Att.* ii. 7.)

* We do not know with certainty what this disagreement was. It was any rate of no importance, and of short duration; we find a few hints of it *Ep.* 33. (*Att.* ii. 7.)

nothing, either from experience or from the writings of Theophrastus*, if you do not speedily hear that people are wishing for my days back again.† For though the power of the Senate may have been hated formerly, what, think you, are people likely to feel when this power is transferred, not to the people, but to three arrogant chiefs? Soon you will see raised to power, not those only who have never swerved, [meaning himself,] but even Cato, who so damaged us.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 35, 3.
(*Att.* ii. 9.)

But Cicero relied too much on the temper of the people. Prone to murmur when the powerful rise and introduce a new order of things, as easily do they suffer themselves to be tamed when a transcendant genius undertakes to manage them. The youth Curio, whom, but a short time before, Cicero had treated with scorn, now, full of zeal for the nobles and hatred of the Triumvirs, inspired him with exaggerated hopes.‡² But a few years later he had to behold in this same Curio the most active friend and supporter of Cæsar. Rarely is the gift of divination bestowed upon a party man in a period of party dissension. Had Cicero possessed it, he assuredly would have continued to think and feel as he did at the commencement of this fatal year, when he said, “I have resolved to think no more about the Republic;”³ and would have abandoned himself entirely to philosophy and study. How much misery would he have avoided had he continued of the same mind

² *Ep.* 33, 2.;
34, 1.; 36, 2.;
44, 1. (*Att.* ii.
7. 8. 12. 18.)

³ *Ep.* 30, 5.;
comp. 39, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 4. 13.)

* From his book on “The Republic,” which Cicero greatly admired.

† [*My days (nostra tempora.)*] He refers to his own Consulship, and the three years which followed, in which he still fancied his authority paramount. See *Ep.* 148. (*Div.* i. 9.), *nobis consulibus . . . nobis privatis usque ad Cæsarem et Bibulum coss, &c.*

‡ [Caius, son of C. Scribonius Curio, a chief of the Optimates, at this time a mere lad. Cicero had spoken of him most contumeliously, as the creature of Catilina and the profligate M. Antonius. *Ep.* 19, 5. (*Att.* i. 14.)]

¹ *Ep.* 42, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 16.)

as when he wrote in May to Atticus¹: “Had I chosen to resist my enemies, I could have found the means. But I have made up my mind — as *your friend* Dicæarchus* differs from *my friend* Theophrastus, in that the former prefers the practical life, and the latter the speculative — to pay a compliment both to the one and the other. Dicæarchus, I fancy, I have fully satisfied: henceforth I will devote myself to the school, which not only allows me to repose, but blames me for having ever disquieted myself. Therefore, my friend, let me turn once more to my noble studies, and repair again to the port whence I should never have hoisted sail.”² This is the proper place to mention the sentiment he so emphatically expresses to Atticus: “No one is more unfortunate than I am, none more fortunate than Catulus, both in the brilliancy of his life and the opportuneness of his death.” How indeed could he, whose life was his love for Rome, fail to envy the fate of Catulus, at moments when the cry was extorted from him, “The Republic is ruined and undone.”†

² *Comp. Ep.*
30, 3. 5. (*Att.*
ii. 4.)

When Cicero penned this sentence about Catulus, he was in Rome, whither he had repaired in June, after an interview with Atticus, who was then on the point of returning to Greece. Though in an hour of despondency he might long for death, yet his natural temper still impelled him to the stage on which alone he could enact the part assigned him. So true were the words he once wrote to Atticus: “There is no other difference between you and me, I have always thought, than the different kinds of life we have respectively chosen: for while a certain feeling has constantly urged me to strive for the high places of the earth, a love of honourable ease, assuredly a

* Dicæarchus was an Aristotelian philosopher at Messana, the author of some historical and political writings.

† *Ep.* 47, 1. (*Att.* ii. 21.) *De republica quid ego tibi subtiliter? tota perit.*

feeling in no way blameable, has always actuated you.* The labours of the Forum, which my ambition once made endurable to me, I now sustain for the maintenance of my dignity.”¹ In the same spirit he now writes in his first letter from Rome: “I bear myself pretty highly, considering the general humiliation of those about me, yet abjectly enough for one who has done such fine things as I have.”² We see that the consciousness of his own greatness still continued to inspire him; — “I crave my country’s blessing,” he exclaims: “if I have done less for her than I ought, I have at least done more than she claimed.”³

¹ *Ep.* 22, 2.
(*Att.* i. 17.)

² *Ep.* 44, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 18.)

³ *Ep.* 35, 3.
(*Att.* ii. 9.)

And now a juncture was at hand in which he needed all his prudence and firmness; for a heavy storm was gathering over him. Clodius by the use of illegal means had accomplished the design of exchanging from the ranks of the Patricians to those of the Plebeians; a project which he had unsuccessfully endeavoured to execute the preceding year.⁴ Cicero, when pleading for Antonius in the beginning of the present year†, had allowed himself in the heat of argument to give utterance to the feelings which political events had excited in him. The expressions were repeated in an exaggerated and perverted form,

⁴ *Cic. pro dom.* 13, 14.

* This ease, this life of opulence and comfort, Atticus acquired after all in a manner which does his character no honour. He was befriended by Sulla, and he supplied the younger Marius with his money; the strictest confidant of Cicero, he kept nevertheless on good terms with Clodius; he connected himself at the same time with Cæsar, with Brutus, and Cassius; nor did he fail to gain the favour of Antonius.

† I say in the beginning of the year, for in an early month we find Cicero already out of Rome; nor is there any trace in his letters of his returning to the city from his estates before June, while Clodius was already suing for the Tribune at the commencement of April. The *quidam viri* in the speech *pro domo* (c. 16.) can only mean Cæsar and Pompeius.

by malicious persons, to Cæsar and Pompeius. This was at noon; three hours afterwards the adoption of Clodius was carried.¹

¹ Cic. *pro dom.* 16.;
Suet. *Jul.* 20.

The object of Clodius in becoming a Plebeian was to get himself elected Tribune, and in that capacity to effect the ruin of Cicero. Suetonius, Velleius, Plutarch, Dio Cassius, and Appian concur in affirming that in this design he was abetted by Cæsar*; thereby bearing out the words of Cicero himself at a later period.² We may readily believe that Pompeius acquiesced in Cæsar's plans from weakness, and the desire of propitiating him. He was certainly present as Augur at the assembly at which the adoption of Clodius was carried.³ It is true he exacted from him a promise to take no hostile measures against Cicero during his Tribunate⁴, which post by Cæsar's help he speedily obtained.⁵ He continued also to hold encouraging language to Cicero, and declared himself his truest friend.⁶ But what could be expected from the promises of a Clodius, who no sooner obtained the Tribunate than he behaved like a madman?† What from the friendship of a Pompeius, who already played but a second part in the State; which, as circumstances then stood, was equivalent to no part at all. We possess no very clear insight into the conduct pursued by Cæsar towards Cicero at this period; partly owing to a break in the correspondence with Atticus, which would otherwise have given us a key to many matters affecting Cicero; partly to the circumstance that in the speeches delivered subsequently to his banishment, in which he enters so

² Cic. *pro Sest.* 7.

³ *Ep.* 36, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 12.)

⁴ *Ep.* 45, 3.;
46, 2, 3. (*Att.*
ii. 19, 20.);
Pro Sest. 7.

⁵ Dio Cass.
xxxviii. 12.

⁶ *Ep.* 46, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 20.)

* See Suet. *Jul.* 20.; Vell. Pat. ii. 45, 2.; Plut. *Cic.* 30.; *Cæs.* 14.; Dio Cass. xxxviii. 10. 12.; App. ii. 14.

† Cic. *Ep.* 48, 1. (*Att.* ii. 22.) *Volitat, furit, nihil habet certi; multis denunciat; quod fors obtulerit, id acturus videtur.*

largely on the subject of Clodius*, motives of political caution deter him from making more than a slight and casual mention of Cæsar. But comparing what we know on this subject from other sources, with the speech here referred to, we may arrive at the following conclusions: Cæsar, after he had founded the Triumvirate and entered on the Consulship, could not fail to be discontented with Cicero, who steadily refused to take any part in the alliance he had concluded with Pompeius and Crassus, and was not sparing in his remarks upon these proceedings, either in his speeches in the Forum or in private conversation with his friends, when he could not always suppress a witty sarcasm. When in his speech in defence of Antonius, delivered in January or February, he touched upon political matters, and his words were reported to Cæsar in a garbled form, Cæsar in an ebullition of anger got Clodius adopted into the Plebs, and Pompeius as Augur sanctioned that transaction, illegal as it was, by his presence. Cæsar was by nature mild, and we possess indubitable proofs of his high esteem for Cicero: the step just taken, though calculated to further his own designs, might, he perhaps felt, be attended with awkward consequences. Possibly, he might again have entertained, in spite of what had passed, a hope of gaining Cicero over to his own interests; or possibly Atticus may have been advocating his friend's cause with him. He seems to have thought of sending Clodius away on a foreign mission, and thus preventing him from suing for the Tribunate.¹ If we may credit a letter from Cicero to Atticus², Cæsar endeavoured like Pompeius to shift from his own shoulders the blame of having made Clodius a Plebeian. But the latter, intent solely upon his meditated revenge against Cicero, was incensed at the proposition of being sent to a distance. He

¹ Ep. 33. 2.
(Att. ii. 7.)

² Ep. 36 1, 2.
(Att. ii. 12.)

* Most fully in the speech: *De provinciis consularibus*, 17. foll.

preferred his claims to the Tribunate in April, and threatened, should he gain the office, to reverse all Cæsar's measures.¹ Meanwhile Cæsar, as we have seen, persevered in his endeavours to conciliate Cicero: he offered him one of his own lieutenancies*; when that was refused, one of the twenty commissionerships. But Cicero was still blind to the danger impending over him. "I long to enter the lists with Clodius," he writes in June to Atticus; and in later letters he expresses the same sentiment. Pompeius, in fact, kept on encouraging him. Then at last Cæsar let him drop, and connected himself more closely with Clodius, who with his assistance became Tribune.†

When Cicero returned to Rome in June, the sight of

* Plutarch (*Cic.* 30.) says that Cicero had solicited such a post in order to protect himself against Clodius, and received the promise of one: by and by Clodius reassured him, and thereupon he threw it up. Cæsar, irritated at this, abandoned him to his enemy. But this account is contradicted by Cicero's letters, 44, 45.

† Probably in July, as that was the season for the election of Tribunes. In 689 the comitia for this election were held July 17. *Cic. Ep.* 10, 1.; (*Att.* i. 1.) The new Tribunes entered on their office Dec. 10. Cicero enumerates the principal events here treated of in the following order:—

1. He is occupied with the idea of a mission to Egypt. *Ep.* 31. (*Att.* ii. 5.) Probably in March.
2. He mentions the Vigintiviri. *Ep.* 32, 1. (*Att.* ii. 6.) Probably in the same month.
3. He laments the disregard of the most important laws. *Ep.* 35, 3. (*Att.* ii. 9.) At the beginning of April.
4. Clodius sues for the Tribunate, and menaces Cæsar. *Ep.* 36, 2. (*Att.* ii. 12.) At the beginning of April.
5. Cæsar gives his daughter in marriage to Pompeius. *Ep.* 43, 1. (*Att.* ii. 17.) Early in May.
6. Cicero invited by Cæsar to be his legatus. *Ep.* 44, 3. (*Att.* i. 18.) Early in June.
7. Again, to be one of the twenty commissioners. *Ep.* 45, 3. (*Att.* ii. 19.) In July.
8. Affairs occasioned by Vettius. *Ep.* 50. (*Att.* ii. 24.) In August.

* The last letter of this period (to Atticus) belongs to the same month.

¹ *Ep.* 36, 2
(*Att.* ii. 12.)

the city filled him with profound grief and indignation. "We are hemmed in on all sides," he says in his first letter from thence to Atticus; "and we no longer refuse to be slaves, but death and exile inspire us with terror, as if these were something worse than slavery, when indeed they are far lighter evils, and the misery of these circumstances, which all with one sigh deplore, none ventures to relieve by the utterance of a single word."¹ "Know," ^{1 Ep. 44, 1. (Att. ii. 18.)} he says in his next letter, "that there was never anything more shameful, more disgraceful, more repugnant to men of all ranks, ages and conditions, than the present situation of the Republic. These *popular* men, forsooth, have taught the very populace to hiss at them. Wretch that I am! Why are you not here? Nothing would escape your penetration. May be I am too purblind, too devoted to justice and virtue."² We lay stress on the latter words, ^{2 Ep. 45, 1. comp. 47, 1.; (Att. ii. 19. 21.)} because they ought to weigh something in the scale against the severe judgment so many have passed upon Cicero both in ancient and modern times.

Unfortunately the month of August furnishes us with scarcely any letters to Atticus. For at the earnest request of his friend, who began gradually to perceive the extent of the danger which menaced him from Clodius, Atticus had returned to Rome. Cicero had written to him in the beginning of the month: "If you love me as much as I am persuaded you do, wake if you are sleeping, walk if you are standing, fly if you are running."³ We ^{3 Ep. 49, 4. (Att. ii. 23.)} have accordingly no expressions of the feeling with which Cicero heard of the extraordinary proconsular powers committed to Cæsar, and the way in which they were acquired.

The Senate of the preceding year, more cautious than prudent, had assigned to the Consuls then to be elected the supervision of the roads and forests for their *pro-*

¹ Suet. *Jul.*
19.

*vinces*¹: for it feared the enterprising spirit of Cæsar in a more important sphere. But he was well aware of this object. And now, in defiance of the Sempronian law*, which restricted to a single year the occupation of a province, with the aid of his brother-in-law Piso, his son-in-law Pompeius, and the Tribune Clodius, and by means of a Rogation of his creature Vatinius, Cæsar obtained from the people, who had no right to give it, but who were alarmed at the rumour of hostile movements in Gaul, the government of the Cisalpine together with Illyricum, with a force of three legions, for five years; and the Senate, fearing lest he should still extort from the people whatever else it attempted to withhold, consented to add the Transalpine province, with another legion.† Cæsar had now attained the object of his most ardent wishes; the stepping stone, as he regarded it, to the final goal he aimed at. These were the provinces which, according to the expression of Suetonius, offered him the fairest opportunity for a triumph.‡ Here he might train himself an army such as might conquer the Roman world: for in one of these provinces alone could a standing force be legally maintained on this side of the Alps. § “Now,”

* [This *lex Sempronia* was enacted by C. Gracchus (A. U. 630). It provided also that the provinces should be assigned prospectively before the election of the Consuls. Sall. *Jugur.* 27.; Cic. *de prov. Cons.* 2. 15.; *pro dom.* 9. In later times this was seldom observed in either particular.]

† Dio Cass. xxxviii. 8.; Suet. *Jul.* 22. [The people possessed the original right of assigning the provinces, as well as of electing the Consuls. The prevalent custom, according to which the Senate enjoyed this patronage, was, in fact, a tacit usurpation. In some cases the people actually claimed and exercised the right, as when they gave Numidia to Marius (Sall. *Jugur.* 73.), and the Eastern command to Pompeius by the Manilian law.]

‡ Suet. l. c. *idonea materia triumphorum.*

§ Cisalpine Gaul was the spot where a bold aggressor could best plant his batteries against the city, and on this account Antonius, at a later period, was so eager to occupy it.

said Cato in the Senate, "now you have made yourselves a king by your own act and deed, and brought him, guards and all, into your citadel."¹ Cæsar himself, if we may credit Suetonius, behaved with such arrogance after this success, as to boast a few days after in the Senate-house, that he had gained his demands against the will and to the utter mortification of his adversaries; and now he would boldly trample on all their heads.

We gain some insight into the practices which Cæsar and his party allowed themselves against the defenders of the Republic, from Cicero's account of the proceedings relative to a certain Vettius²; the same whom he had before employed as a spy in the Catilinarian conspiracy, in which Vettius had been concerned. This man had promised Cæsar to bring Curio the zealous enemy of the Triumvirs³, and certain others of their opponents, under suspicion of a plot against the life of Pompeius. But he spread his nets so unskilfully, that he became himself the victim of his own arts. It was believed that Cæsar, or perhaps Vatinius, to whom at a later period Cicero ascribed the entire management of this transaction⁴, in order to prevent any dangerous consequences from the discovery, had caused Vettius to be put to death in prison.* The nobles were naturally exasperated to the highest

¹ Plut. Cat. min. 33.

² Ep. 50, 2. (Att. ii. 24.)

³ Ep. 34, 4. (Att. ii. 8.)

⁴ Cic. in Vat. 10, 11.

* The comparison of Cicero's letter with what Dion says about this affair (xxxviii. 9.) will show how little the historian can be trusted when he speaks of the orator. Appian, who makes Vettius affirm that he was bribed by Cato, Bibulus, and Cicero, to assassinate Cæsar and Pompeius, says that the people, after that incident, allowed Cæsar to guard himself against violence, and that Bibulus from thenceforward shut himself up in his house as a private citizen. Vettius wanted, perhaps, to effect the second time the design against Cæsar in which he had previously failed. (See p. 61.) It is evident from comparing the passages, in *Vatin.* ii. and *Ep.* 50, 2., that Cicero spares Cæsar in his speech against Vatinius. Suetonius in speaking of the affair of Vettius has no such tenderness for Cæsar. *Jul.* 20.

degree when Vettius, the day after he had been committed to prison for his false accusations, was by Cæsar's command brought forward to repeat them to the people from the Rostrum—"from the very place which Cæsar as Prætor had forbidden Catulus to ascend when he wished to refute the charges against him, and on which the Consul Bibulus could never venture to appear."¹ Meanwhile he provided against the reversal of his measures the next year by procuring the election to the Consulship of two creatures of his own, Aulus Gabinius, and Piso², whose daughter Calpurnia he had recently married.*

After his return to Rome, Cicero kept aloof from political affairs. "I do not mix at all in the concerns of the Commonwealth," he writes to Atticus; "I devote myself entirely to my pleadings:"³—and in the following letter: "I attend no political consultations, but abandon myself wholly to the business of the Forum; and the consequence is, as you may imagine, that people often talk of what I did in former times, and wish them back again." This seems to have afforded him some consolation. "My forensic labours," he says in the same letter, "are acceptable not only to those whom I directly serve, but to people generally. My house is much frequented; I am treated with respect; the memory of my Consulate is revived; a friendly zeal is generally manifested in my behalf; so that I begin to think sometimes that I ought not to avoid the conflict which threatens me."⁴ His activity was great, but few monuments of it remain. The two speeches he delivered for the late Prætor Aulus Thermus, drew down warm congratulations on the orator, while his client's acquittal

¹ *Ep.* 50, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 24.)

² Appian,
B. C. ii. 14.

³ *Ep.* 48, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 22.)

⁴ *Ep.* 49, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 23.)

* With reference to this marriage, and the alliance of Pompeius with Cæsar's daughter, Cato had exclaimed, "Matrimony is the pander to tyranny:" διαμαστροπέυεσθαι γάμοις τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. Appian, l. c.

on two impeachments gave general satisfaction.* He was equally fortunate in his defence of L. Valerius Flaccus, who had been Prætor during his Consulate, at which time he had done good service against Catilina; and who having subsequently received Asia for his province, where he was succeeded by Quintus Cicero, was now accused by D. Lælius of malversation. He found a second advocate in Hortensius.¹

¹ Ep. 51, 2.
(Att. ii. 25.)

The speech which Cicero delivered for Flaccus, and which we possess in a mutilated form, is one of the great orator's most brilliant efforts. It is important, among other reasons, because it gives his judgment on the character of the Greeks²; proving that he was by no means blindly partial to that people; and also for a curious passage relative to the Jewish nation†, in which we perceive traces of the contempt the Romans entertained for their religion, and the importance they nevertheless possessed in Rome. In this composition Cicero appears by no means to labour under timidity and apprehension, although the fate of the ill-timed expressions in his speech for Antonius must have given him a presentiment of danger.³ On the contrary he alludes to the political circumstances of the day in a bold and unembarrassed tone⁴: "Your sentence, oh Judges, concerns not Lydians, Mysians, or Phrygians; but it affects your own Republic, the constitution of your State, the common weal, the hope of all good men, yea, and whatever else can strengthen or sustain the courage of worthy citizens. Every other refuge of the good, every other safeguard of innocence, every other support, counsel, help, privilege of the Commonwealth is overturned." The defence of Antonius has

² Pro Flacc.
4. foll.

³ See above,
(p. 105.)

⁴ Pro Flacc.
2.

* Cic. *pro Flacc.* 39. The speeches have not come down to us.

† Cic. *pro Flacc.* 28. *Scis, Læli, quanta sit manus (Judæorum), quanta concordia, quantum valeat in concionibus.*

already been mentioned. It is no longer extant; it would probably have afforded a remarkable, though not a pleasing testimony of Cicero's art. It was of no avail to his client, who was banished, and retired to Cephalaria.*

¹ *Ep.* 32, 1.;
comp. 34, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 6. 8.)

We find from a letter to Atticus¹, that when Cicero was residing at his estate at Antium, highly mortified at the turn events were taking, he occupied himself in drawing up anecdotes relating to the secret history of the times, and of the men in power, after the manner of Theopompus, who wrote a similar but more bitter commentary on the history of Philip of Macedon. This work seems never to have seen the light.†

The letters of this period furnish us with few particulars relating to Cicero's domestic life: but there is something very pleasing in the occasional mention of his son which occurs in the midst of his details of political cares and anxieties. If, however, his heart was gladdened by observation of his child's opening faculties, his glance into the future must undoubtedly have been troubled at thinking of the times which his mature years were destined to witness. From the thirty-third letter² we find that he had procured, with the assistance of Atticus, a Greek tutor for his own son, then six years old, as well as for his brother's. The concluding words of the thirty-fifth letter³, *Κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεται Τίτον Ἀθηναῖον*, may have been added by the young Cicero to show that he had commenced Greek; a conjecture too pleasing not to be

² *Att.* ii. 7.

³ *Att.* ii. 9.

* On the impeachment of Antonius, see Dio Cass. xxxviii. 10. He was accused by Lælius of complicity in the Catilinarian conspiracy, and of malversation in his province by another. He remained still in banishment when his nephew, M. Antonius, recalled other exiles by Cæsar's direction. He was first summoned home by Cæsar in his Dictatorship.

† It is a question whether the *Ἀνέκδοτα*, *Ep.* 698. (*Att.* xiv. 19.) are identical with the work here mentioned. [See below.]

readily admitted. Doubtless it was with heartfelt pleasure that the father wrote in his forty-second letter¹, *Κικέρων*¹ *Att. ii. 16.* *ἀριστοκρατικώτατος παῖς*. He saw perhaps his own principles beginning to bud in his child. Nor can we fail to be gratified at observing a trait of affection for his birthplace in one who admired Rome above all things, the imperial city in which he had a stately dwelling, besides possessing splendid and elegant villas in the fairest regions of Italy. "Why should I invite you to Arpinum?" he writes to Atticus,

“Τρηχει’, ἀλλ’ ἀγαθὴν κουροτρόφος, οὔτι ἔγωγε
ἥς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.”²

² *Ep. 38, 2.*
(*Att. ii. 11.*);
Hom. Odys.
ix. 27.

A letter, written perhaps November, 695, to his brother Quintus, whose government was then coming to an end, contains some curious particulars, and gives us an insight into the characters of the two. They were both, as we have often had occasion to remark, of a sanguine temperament; but there was this difference between them, that the younger paid too little regard to men and their opinions, the elder too much. Quintus had a lively sense of right: but he wanted the conduct, calmness, and circumspection indispensable to one whose duty it is to administer justice, and to make his qualities appreciated throughout a wide sphere of influence. Any violation of right threw him into a passion, and his punishments seemed inflicted to satisfy his own feelings rather than the demands of justice. Nor was he always consistent with himself; and his elder brother, usually so mild and forbearing, found occasion to reprehend him severely.³ Marcus³ *Ep. 52, 5.* *(Qu. fr. i. 2.)* hated injustice: yet he did not refuse sometimes to connive at it from regard to those in power. There are instances of this in the letter last referred to, when he is speaking

of Cæsar and Pompeius, and of the Prætor elect, L. Flavius.¹ Again, the manumission of Statius, a favourite slave of his brother's, seems to have caused him no little vexation.² This affair was much talked of in Rome, where it was thought that Statius possessed too much influence over his master's mind. Marcus was convinced himself that the matter was of no importance; but his words are remarkable³, when we reflect how considerable a part slaves and freedmen played in later times: "Though there should be nothing in it contrary to justice and honesty, you should remember that there is always something repulsive, and not strictly in accordance with self-respect and dignity, in a master showing excessive favour to a slave or freedman."

The excitability of Cicero's character appears in all the letters of this period. At one moment he is plunged in profound melancholy, amounting even to despair; at the next he indulges again in unwarrantable hopes. The dangers which threaten him personally he encounters at first with careless contempt, openly bids them defiance, and thinks himself quite secure in the promises and assurances of Pompeius and others; all Italy he thinks will stand up for him, and bring him out of his troubles with redoubled glory.⁴ But as the danger approaches nearer, he becomes anxious and cast down, and eagerly implores his friend's assistance. One thought alone remains firmly fixed in his mind throughout: and that is the consciousness that he has laboured honestly for the good of the State, and the memory of his glorious Consulate. "My folly," he writes to his friend⁵, "and what I must needs call my vanity, (for it is a fine thing to know one's own faults) find some satisfaction in one circumstance:—I used to be stung by the idea that six hundred years hence the political deserts

¹ *Ep.* 52, 6.² *Epp.* 52, 1.; 44, 4.; 45, 1. (*Qu. fr.* i. 2.; *Att.* ii. 18, 19.)³ *Ep.* 45, 1. (*Att.* ii. 19.)⁴ *Ep.* 52, 9.⁵ *Ep.* 43, 2. (*Att.* ii. 17.)

of Pompeius would appear greater than mine ; I am now for ever relieved from any such apprehension."

Comparing the letter quoted at the close of our second division, with what we have learned from those of the present period, we must conclude that Cicero was born too late to be capable of upholding the Roman Republic in its true spirit. He was wise and great—but the foundations of the Commonwealth were undermined: Cæsar's star shone too potently, and such a nature as Cicero's could make no resistance to its conquering influence.

BOOK IV.

LETTERS OF CICERO,

IN THE YEARS

696 AND 697.

CICERO IN EXILE.

BOOK IV.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 696. B. C. 58. CIC. 49.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONINUS; AULUS GABINIUS.

CÆSAR defeats the Helvetians at Bibracte, and brings them into subjection. He then compels Ariovistus to leave Gaul and retreat beyond the Rhine.

A. U. 697. B. C. 57. CIC. 50.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER; Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

Clodius had entered on his Tribunate in the December of the preceding year; and it was evident that he would employ every means in his power, to execute his projected plan of revenge against Cicero. He had no resistance to fear from Pompeius, who did not dare to take any step independently of Cæsar, or contrary to his views; and that Cæsar had now quite abandoned Cicero, and desired his removal in order to the furtherance of his own designs, is clear from the account of the latter in his oration for Sestius.* Cato on his part was not sparing in remonstrances, and testified loudly against the method in which Cicero was attacked: but he was unable to stand against the Consuls and their powerful allies.¹ Moreover, just¹ at the time of Cicero's fall, he found himself obliged to

¹ Cic. *pro*
Sest. 28.

* *Pro Sest.* 28. This speech, and others connected with it, must not, of course, be regarded as conclusive historical documents.

accept a commission which was altogether at variance with his principles.*

Clodius treated Bibulus on the last day of the year 695 in the same manner as the Tribune Metellus had treated Cicero on a former occasion¹, and he now proceeded to his work strengthened by a party which he had formed for himself among the people, the knights, and the Senate itself. It is not improbable that, as Dio remarks², Cicero may have made himself many enemies by his pride and love of satire.

When he makes mention of the Consuls, Piso and Gabinius, in his letters and speeches, he depicts them as men of the most corrupt and abandoned character. Yet but a short time before their entrance into office, we find him expressing a highly favourable opinion of them³, and promising himself safety from the attacks of Clodius, through their protection. One of them indeed had testified great respect for him at the commencement of his Consulate⁴, and was highly valued by him at a later period. We must therefore suppose that the ill usage he had received at their hands, led him to paint them in colours of too dark a hue; and this supposition is borne out by the violence of his oration against Piso, which is by no means consistent with the dignity of a senator. Piso, who was a man of distinguished family, may very possibly have concealed the profligacy usual among the nobles of that day, under the mask of a stoical gravity. In treating Cicero as he did, he was furthering the plans of his powerful son-in-law. Gabinius was a thoroughly dissipated man, like many others in that age, and was unscrupulous in the choice of means for his ends. He was a friend of Cæsar and a favourite of Pompeius⁵, both of

¹ Dio Cass. xxxviii. 12.

² Dio Cass. xxxviii. 12.

³ *Ep.* 52, 9. (*Qu. fr.* i. 2.)

⁴ Cic. *in Pison.* 5.

⁵ Appian, *B. C.* ii. 14. Dio Cass. xxxviii. 9.

* The commission was to take away the kingdom of Cyprus from Ptolemæus, a younger brother of Ptolemæus Auletes, and constitute it a Roman province.

whom had had an eye to their own interests, in procuring his elevation, and that of Piso, to the Consulate. Clodius too succeeded in securing their countenance and assistance in his designs. Cicero asserts¹ that they concluded a^{10.} *Pro Sest.* regular compact with the Tribune, on the understanding that while they should obtain through his agency the provinces they most coveted, together with forces and money to the extent of their wishes, they should abandon the Commonwealth to his discretion; and this compact they mutually agreed to ratify by Cicero's ruin. That a man like Clodius should have sworn irreconcilable hatred against Cicero, is perfectly conceivable in itself, and events leave no doubt that such was the case: revenge against such an adversary must accordingly have been a great gratification to him*; but besides this, it seems probable, from a review of his whole course of action, that he cherished plans not inferior in extent and daring to those of Catilina and Cæsar †, and to the success of these designs the removal of such men as Cicero and Cato was necessary. Cæsar felt the same with respect to his own schemes.

The first object then of Clodius was to gain the favour of the people. He succeeded in this by enacting laws calculated to flatter them, and place himself in the light of their benefactor; while he set aside thereby many wise institutions of antiquity. Nor did he omit to frame other measures with the view of procuring himself friends among

* It is not necessary, in order to explain this hostility, to recur to the scandalous anecdote in Plutarch. [Cic. 29. "Terentia had a grudge against Clodius, on account of his sister Clodia, who was supposed to wish to marry Cicero. . . . Now, as Terentia was of a sour temper and governed Cicero, she urged him to join in the attack upon Clodius (in the affair of the Bona Dea), and to give testimony against him." — Long's trans.]

† Cic. *pro Sest.* 7. It is worthy of remark, that Clodius consecrated the ground on which Cicero's house stood to the Goddess Liberty. *Ep.* 88, 1. (*Att.* iv. 2.)

the upper classes.* At the same time he sought by other enactments to ensure the success of his undertaking against Cicero; for instance, as soon as the new Consuls had entered on their office, he abrogated the *Lex Ælia Fufia*, thereby removing the check upon tumultuous assemblies of the people, which had subsisted for the last hundred years, and which Cicero calls the bulwark and fortress of public tranquillity.¹ According to Dio², Cicero was aware of the object Clodius had in view, and gained to his side the Tribune Ninnius; Clodius however succeeded in deceiving him, and in tranquillizing the fears of both. He then came forward with a Rogation, to the effect that whoever had caused a Roman citizen to be put to death without a regular hearing and formal sentence, should be outlawed.³

¹ *In Pison.* 4.; *Pro Sest.* 15.

² Dio Cass. xxxviii. 14.

³ Vell. Paterc. ii. 45.

⁴ *Ep.* 70, 6. (*Att.* iii. 15.)

⁵ *Pro Sest.* 17, 18.

⁶ Plut. *Cic.* 20.

This proposal, which, without expressly naming him, was clearly aimed against Cicero, so overwhelmed him with surprise and grief, that immediately on its announcement, and while it was yet uncertain whether it would be carried or not, he arrayed himself in mourning, to move the compassion of the people. The law he might, as he afterwards confessed⁴, have applauded as a good and just one; or he might have given himself no concern about it, as not affecting himself: but what alarmed him, was the open declaration, on the part of Clodius, that he was acting on the authority of Pompeius, with the consent and under the protection of Cæsar and Crassus.⁵ In this state of dismay and pusillanimous weakness, he had to endure the most degrading insults from Clodius and the turbulent ruffians in his pay.⁶

* These laws are enumerated, in *Pison.* 4. foll.; *Ascon. in or. C. Pis. pro Sest.* 15.; Dio Cass. xxxviii. 13. The law by which Clodius instituted certain guilds and fraternities (*collegia*) which might easily assume a political character is especially worthy of attention.

Such auxiliaries were necessary to the Tribune, in the contest he had to maintain against Cicero's party; for no sooner was the proposed law made known, than the liveliest emotion was testified throughout Italy. Citizens of every rank and age, as well as the Senate, assailed the Consuls with pressing entreaties to take vigorous measures for his protection, but they seemed indisposed to do anything. Immediately all the partisans of the accused, both in the city and from every part of Italy, met in great numbers in the Capitol, and unanimously agreed to put on mourning, and leave no means untried to save him. The Senate was at this moment assembled in the Temple of Concord, a spot which recalled to mind the most glorious of Cicero's exploits.* The fathers addressed themselves one and all with urgent prayers to Gabinius, in the absence of Piso: a procession of knights appeared in mourning garments, like suppliants before him, but all were repulsed with pride and contumely.

The Tribune Ninnius however ventured to propose that the Senate likewise should put on mourning; and this was agreed to. Gabinius, incensed, rushed out of the Temple, called the people together, and denounced the knights in violent language; declaring that they should pay dearly for helping Cicero against Catilina. He next attacked the Senate: "Those were deceived," he said, "who imagined that body retained any influence in the State." He caused L. Lamia, a knight who had shown particular attachment to Cicero, to be banished two hundred miles from the city.†

The mourning however was universal; and there was no

* On the 5th December, 691.

† Cicero faithfully remembered this man's devotion to him. See his recommendation of him to Decimus Brutus, when he sued for the Prætorship in 710. *Epp.* 786, 787. (*Div.* xi. 16, 17.)

city or community of Italy which did not pass the most gratifying resolutions in behalf of the persecuted statesman. The two Consuls now issued a command that the senators should lay aside their mourning, while Clodius and his band stormed against the knights and other nobles. The great orator Hortensius narrowly escaped with his life in one of their riots, and the senator Vibienus was so severely handled that he died of his wounds.¹

¹ *Pro Mil.*
14.; comp.
pro Sest. 12.

Cicero still had some hopes of Piso, and repaired to him in company with his son-in-law, who was his relative. He found the Consul sick, or feigning sickness. His instances were unavailing: "Gabinus," Piso replied, "could not maintain his position without Clodius; he for his part would stand by his colleague, as Cicero had formerly done by Antonius: every one must take care of himself."²

² *In Pison.* 6.

Two days after this interview, Clodius assembled the people in the Flaminian Circus, before the city gates, to give Cæsar, who had already assumed the command of his army, the opportunity of being present. Here the Tribune presented the Consuls to the people, and begged them to give their opinion on the affair that now agitated the city. They expressed their approbation of all that had been done.

In reply to the question, what he thought of Cicero's Consulship? * Piso contented himself with saying, that he had no pleasure in violent measures. Gabinus gave a harsher answer, and pronounced a heavy censure upon the Senate and knights. The same question being put to Cæsar, he replied, that the proceedings against Lentulus and the other accomplices of Catilina were certainly in

* *In Pison.* 6. Dio Cass. (xxxviii. 16.) makes Clodius ask the Consul's opinion on his law. But Cicero is here the best voucher of what really occurred; and we see clearly, in the way in which he makes the question put, what the machinations of Clodius were, and how he was already preparing a ground for his subsequent Rogation.

gal; and this he had not hesitated to declare at the time: still he thought it harsh, at this distance of time, to pass so severe a sentence, and had always himself preferred mild measures.¹ Thus did he consent to Cicero's fall, while ¹ Dio Cass. xxxviii. 9. pretending to wish him no injury.

Cicero was aware that the Triumvirs feared lest all their acts of the preceding year should be reversed, if they failed to secure a friend in the Tribune.² An attempt to ² Pro Sest. 18. annul them had indeed already been made, but without success, by the Prætors C. Memmius and L. Domitius.³ ³ Suet. Jul. 23. He had now to learn from the conduct of Pompeius, who had given him such solemn assurances only the year before, how weak are the ties of friendship, when power and dominion interfere. Pompeius had retired to his Alban villa, not from fright at the warnings which the partisans of Clodius whispered into his ear, that his life was threatened by the machinations of Cicero and his friends⁴; but ⁴ Pro Sest. 18. from consciousness of the unworthy part he was playing, and a desire to withdraw himself from the importunities of the Optimates. However, M. Lucullus, the elder Torquatus, the Prætor Lentulus, and many other nobles, found their way to him, and urgently implored him not to abandon his friend, with whom the welfare of the Commonwealth was so closely connected. Pompeius referred them to the Consuls, saying that he as a private citizen would not venture to contend with the armed Tribune; but if the Consuls and Senate should openly oppose Clodius, and demand his services, he would not then refuse to take up arms himself.⁵ Yet one more attempt did Cicero ⁵ In Pison. 31.; comp. Ep. 70, 5. (Att. iii. 15.) make; he repaired in person to Alba, demanded access to Pompeius, and threw himself at the feet of the man for whose advancement he had laboured and performed so much. But this too he found fruitless; the only answer

he obtained from Pompeius was, that he could do nothing against the will of Cæsar.*¹

¹ *Ep.* 266, 1.
(*Att.* x. 4.)

Thus abandoned by all who had it in their power to aid him, Cicero took counsel with his friends as to the best course: whether to oppose force to force, or, quit Rome, withdraw himself by flight from the storm. Lucullus advised the former course. Nor was Cicero destitute of numerous supporters, quite prepared to fight for him; but Cato† and Hortensius, backed by Atticus and Cicero's own family, preferred the latter mode of proceeding.² They flattered him with the hope that after a few days he would be recalled with honour. The hour of danger shows of what stuff a man is really made. Cæsar (if we can imagine him placed in a similar situation) would have stayed and conquered; but Cicero's nature was little suited to deeds of strife and violence; accordingly, he gave way before his enemies, and quit the scene of his former glories before sentence was pronounced against him. Hence it might have been foreseen that even should he be permitted this once to return, he must inevitably sooner or later fall a victim to the spirit of an age in which violence triumphed over justice. Before turning his back on his beloved city, he took an image of Minerva which belonged to him, and set it in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus placing Rome, as it were, under the guardianship of the Goddess of Wisdom and Moderation.³

² *Ep.* 69, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* i. 4.);
Plut. Cic. 31.;
Dio Cass.
xxxviii. 17.

³ *De legg.*
ii. 17.; *Dio*,
Plut. ii. cc.

The same day that Cicero quitted Rome, accompanied part of the way by troops of his friends, Clodius converted the people, the legitimate interval having elapsed between

* According to Plutarch (*Cic.* 31.) he slipped out of the house by a back door, without seeing Cicero.

† Cato had not yet quitted Rome for Cyprus, as appears from the speech for Sestius, c. 28.

the Rogation and the Voting. All whom he had cajoled or intimidated were present; yet the Forum appeared empty. It was occupied by armed slaves and mercenaries. In this assembly the law was carried, which Clodius had levelled against Cicero expressly and by name*, and which the Senate had arrayed itself in mourning to avert. In the same assembly and at the same moment, the Consuls received the price for which they abandoned Cicero; the provinces they coveted were assigned to them respectively; to Gabinius, the wealthy realm of Syria; to Piso, Macedonia with Achaia.¹

¹ *Pro Sest.*
24

The edict was so far modified, perhaps through the intervention of Cæsar and Pompeius, that the ban was only to extend to a distance of four hundred Roman miles.² *Ep.* 55. (*Att.* iii. 4.) Not a night was suffered to elapse after the decree was passed, before violent hands were laid upon Cicero's property; his house on the Palatine was reduced to ashes, his Tusculan villa plundered. His other country seats fared no better†; the Consuls took their share of the spoil, and on the spot where Cicero's house had stood, Clodius consecrated a temple to Liberty.‡

* *Velitis, jubeatis, ut M. Tullio aqua et igni interdictum sit. Pro domo*, 18.

† We know from *Ep.* 88, 1. (*Att.* iv. 2.) that his Formian villa, for instance, was devastated.

‡ *Dio Cass.* xxxviii. 17. The above is chiefly taken from the speech for Sestius, which, in spite of the rhetorical ornaments with which it is loaded, must be considered our chief source of information for the circumstances of Cicero's banishment. With regard to the date of Cicero's leaving Rome, we remark that Cæsar says the Helvetii proposed to assemble on the Rhone on the 28th March, in order to cross over into Gaul: he left Rome in haste, to reach Geneva in due time to hinder their invasion of the Roman territory, and succeeded in doing so. Cæsar therefore must have been in Geneva on the 28th March; and accordingly must have left Rome eight days earlier, that is, on the 20th. For Plutarch says, that he performed the journey from Rome to the Rhone (apparently when he was going to his first government in Spain) in eight days. But when Cicero went into exile, Cæsar was still before the walls of Rome (*pro Sest.* 18.); Cicero therefore must have gone

We have no letters of Cicero's during the first months of the year 696. From the time of his banishment to his return, there are thirty-four; all, except one, addressed to his family and to Atticus, who remained in Rome till the end of the year, and did not leave it till he had seen the measures for his friend's recall progressing satisfactorily.

The first letter is addressed to Atticus from the road to Vibo, in Bruttium (formerly Hippon, now Monte Leone). It bears witness to the distracted state of Cicero's mind, and to the deep regret he now felt that he had not followed the manly counsel of Lucullus. Thus it ever is with the gentle and timid: without strength of mind to resolve on extreme measures, no sooner have they decided on the less daring course, than all the advantages on the other side become apparent to them; they see only their own weakness, and lose sight of all the grounds that

about the 20th. The first precise date occurs at the end of *Ep.* 54. (*Att.* iii. 2.) *dat. Id. Apr.* (8th April) *in oris Lucaniæ* (the last words are an emendation of Bosius). Accordingly I suppose the case to have been this:—About March 20th, Cicero quitted Rome; the same day Clodius carried the law against him. Some time was spent in modifying it, though we are not to suppose an observance of the *Trinundinum* in regard to a law which was made in fact a *Privilegium*. In this affair, everything was done tumultuously and irregularly; and this explains why Cicero had received no account of the modification when he wrote *Ep.* 54., on the 8th April. Possibly he did not hurry himself on his journey in the south of Italy, nor had he any occasion to do so, for the blow had not fallen at the time of his setting out. Perhaps he tarried with some of his friends; the *Ep.* 53. may have been written when he had determined to go to Vibo. In that letter, the writer's despondency is strongly marked: the words, *adhuc quidem valde me penitet*, show that it was written some days after his quitting Rome. [The day can hardly be fixed so precisely. It is not certain that Cæsar was at Geneva by the 28th March, though it seems more probable that Plutarch, *ὁ γδοαῖος ἐν Ῥοδανὸν ἦλθεν*, *Cæs.* 17., refers to the first campaign in Gaul than, as Abeken supposes, to the Spanish government. So Drumann and Fischer (*Römische Zeittafeln*).]

might reasonably be adduced in favour of their choice. In the present instance it can hardly admit of a doubt, that had Cicero remained in Rome, he would have fallen a sacrifice to his enemies.* In the letter last mentioned, he expresses an ardent wish for Atticus to come to him, and discuss the plans for his further journey.

In the neighbourhood of Vibo, Cicero had a friend named Sica¹, who with a generous disregard of the danger^{1 Ep. 54. (Att. iii. 2.)} he thereby incurred, received the unfortunate man into his house and gave him shelter. Cicero's object was to repair to Sicily or Melita²; for these islands, Sicily in^{2 Ep. 55. (Att. iii. 4.)} particular, had been long devoted to him; the inhabitants retained a grateful recollection of his administration as Quæstor, and of his having taken their part against Verres.

The Prætor of Sicily, C. Virgilius, was his near connexion and friend; but his awe of Clodius, from whose power he had himself once suffered, made him close the island against him.³ Whilst he was with Sica, Cicero re-^{3 Pro Planc. 40.}ceived a copy of the Rogation, and heard of the mitigation of his sentence, which, however, did not permit him to remain either in Sicily or Melita. In great alarm, on his friend's account as well as his own, he instantly determined to leave Vibo; and the weather not allowing of a sea voyage†, he hastened overland to Brundisium⁴, in-^{4 Pro Planc. 40, 41.}tending from thence to cross into Greece. All the places he passed through were devoted to him, and offered him shelter in defiance of his enemies' threats. Such proofs of

* It is very interesting and important towards a right estimate of Cicero's character, to compare with the outpourings in these letters, what he says of his own conduct in later speeches, particularly that for Sestius (16—19.).

† It must be remembered that according to the existing state of the Roman Calendar the season here spoken of was still winter. [March 20th, A. U. 696 = April 8th, B. C. 58, according to the correction of the Julian Calendar. All the dates therefore of this period are to be set forward nineteen days to obtain the real time. Fischer, *Röm. Zeittafeln*, p. 239.]

love and respect only increased his pain, and he still continued to regret that he had preferred life to death.¹ He earnestly besought Atticus in every letter to hasten to him, that they might consult together what plans he should next adopt. From Brundisium he would willingly have crossed into Achaia, but he had enemies there, the chief of whom was Autronius, Catilina's confederate, whose banishment he had helped to bring about.²

¹ *Epp.* 55.
(*Att.* iii. 4.)

² *Epp.* 54.;
60, 1. (*Att.*
iii. 2. 7.); *Pro*
Plane. 41.

For the same reason, and also from its proximity to Rome, he deemed it hazardous to go to his friend's estate in Epirus; his thoughts took a wider range, and were for some time directed to Cyzicus, in Asia, on the Propontis.³

³ *Epp.* 58, 59,
2. (*Att.* iii. 6.);
Div. xiv. 4.)

We have a letter to Atticus, dated from Thurii on the 10th April, and another from the neighbourhood of Tarentum on the 24th. He was now forced to abandon all hopes of seeing his friend in Italy. "I look upon this," he writes, "as an addition to the long catalogue of my misfortunes."⁴ Atticus probably thought it wiser to remain in Rome, that he might watch his opportunity for promoting his friend's interests, and protect his family. It was well he did so, for Terentia was cruelly harassed, his son-in-law ill treated, and the lives of his children threatened.⁵

⁴ *Epp.* 58.

⁵ *Epp.* 57, 76,
1. (*Att.* iii. 5.);
Div. xiv. 2.);
Pro Sest. 24.

On the 16th or 17th April, Cicero reached the neighbourhood of Brundisium, but abstained from entering the city, which was well affected towards him, out of regard to its welfare. He spent thirteen days in the gardens of his friend, the knight M. Lænius Flaccus, who at the peril of his life granted a refuge to the exile.⁶ This noble-hearted man, with his sons and aged father, of whom Cicero speaks with emotion, placed him, when he no longer felt it safe to remain in Italy, on board a vessel which brought him, after a stormy voyage as Plutarch relates, to Dyrrachium, where again he met with a favourable reception.

⁶ *Epp.* 59, 2.
(*Div.* xiv. 4.);
Pro Plane.
41.; *Pro Sest.*
63.

Here, however, his fear of Autronius and other Catilinarians increased, and having abandoned the idea of residing in Epirus, he hastened by the most northerly route to Mcedonaia, where one of his friends, Cn. Plancius, was Quæstor.¹ This friend no sooner heard of Cicero's arrival at Dyrrachium, than he hastened to meet him, without lictors or the other insignia of his dignity, and clothed in mourning. Tears flowed freely during their silent greeting, and Plancius carried his unhappy friend to his own dwelling in Thessalonica. Here he arrived on the 22nd May.²

The state of Cicero's mind at this juncture, is best shown in a letter he addressed to his wife and children from Brundisium on the 30th April.³ At the beginning he says:—

“I write to you less frequently than I might, for miserable as every hour is, yet, when I write to you, or receive your letters, I am altogether dissolved in tears, and cannot endure my misery. Oh! that I had loved life less! had I then died, surely I should have lived a life of no suffering, or but little. If fate has in reserve for me the slightest hope of recovering any of my former happiness, my error has not been so great; but if these misfortunes are doomed to last, then I long to see thee, my dearest, as soon as possible, and to die in thy embrace; since neither the gods, whom thou hast so piously worshipped, nor men, to whom I have devoted my services, have shown us any gratitude.” His sole remaining solace was the remembrance of his glorious life and actions. “I have lived in honour, I have gained renown. My virtues, not my faults, have caused my affliction. My only error was the not relinquishing life itself when I lost its honours.”⁴ But such thoughts only resemble the lightning which for a moment illumines the night, making the succeeding dark-

¹ *Ep.* 60, 3.
(*Att.* iii. 7.)

² *Ep.* 61, 1.
(*Att.* iii. 8.);
Pro Planc.
41.

³ *Ep.* 59, 1.
(*Div.* xiv. 4.)

⁴ *Ep.* 59, 1.
(*Div.* xiv. 4.)

ness more perceptible. "I hate," he writes at the same time to Atticus, "all frequented places. I avoid mankind. I can hardly bear the light of day."¹

The circumstance that his brother had just set out on his return from his province, was an addition to Cicero's troubles. Where should he see him? how tear himself from him again?² At Dyrrachium he was informed that Quintus was sailing from Ephesus to Athens; other accounts said that he would travel through Macedonia. He despatched a messenger to Athens, in case his brother might have arrived there, to desire him to meet him at Thessalonica.³ Arrived at this place himself, without having received any certain intelligence about Quintus, except that he had left Ephesus, he became uneasy lest he should have been impeached at Rome. His enemies indeed might well consider their triumph but half complete, till they had involved his brother in his ruin. Nor were the accounts of Pompeius, which he received from Atticus, calculated to raise his courage. The man who could quietly suffer his prisoner, Tigranes, to be taken from him by Clodius, was not likely to afford him any assistance against the Tribune.* Thus the transactions of the month of May failed to inspire him with the hope which Atticus sought to impart to him. He still hesitated about remaining in Macedonia. Again his hopes turned to Pompeius, and he wrote a letter to him, although at the same time he called him a hypocrite.⁴

¹ *Ep.* 60, 1.
(*Att.* iii. 7.)

² *Ep.* 60, 3.
(*Att.* iii. 7.)

³ *Ep.* 61, 1.
(*Att.* iii. 8.)

⁴ *Epp.* 67.; 62, 3.; 63, 4 (Att. iii. 14. 9.; *Qu.* i. 3.)

* *Ep.* 61, 2. Tigranes, son of the king of Armenia of the same name, who had been in alliance with Mithridates, was kept, after adorning the triumph of Pompeius, as a hostage in Rome, under the care of the Prætor Flavius. He bribed Clodius to aid his flight. He escaped, and set sail, but was obliged, by contrary winds, to put back to Antium. Both Clodius and Flavius hastened after him with armed men, and a combat took place between them, in which M. Papirius, a Roman knight, and a friend of Pompeius, was slain, and Flavius with difficulty escaped. Tigranes got off. See Asconius *ad Orat. pro Mil.*

Exhausted with doubts and anxieties, his strength seemed utterly to fail him; and he gave full vent to his ill-humour both against himself, and against an individual in whom, he was convinced, he had too implicitly trusted, and who had betrayed him¹; for he was firmly persuaded¹ *Ep. 61, 3. (Att. iii. 8.)* that the envy his Consulate had awakened had caused his ruin.² Several passages in his letters seem to indicate Hortensius as the object of these suspicions, which were however probably unjust.*³ *Ep. 63, 1.; 69, 1.; 70, 3. (Qu. fr. i. 3, 4.; Att. iii. 15.)*

So crushed did he feel, that he actually declined a visit from his brother, who arrived at Athens on the 15th May, and whom a short time before he had longed to see. The thought even occurred to him of putting an end to his life. He already regarded himself as non-existent. He writes to his brother, excusing himself for having shunned an interview with him. "You would not have seen your brother; not him whom you left; not him whom you know; from whom you tore yourself with mutual tears, when he accompanied you on your way. No trace or shadow of him would you have seen, but the image of a breathing corpse."⁴ What wonder, when he had thus given himself up, that he should also have abandoned his trust in the gods!⁵ All that he had left behind and which he despaired of seeing again, now floated before his mind in the most alluring forms: "his brother, not a brother only; in the charms of intercourse, a friend; in devotion,

* There is no trace whatever, bating the insinuations of these letters, of Hortensius having betrayed Cicero. On the other hand, we may see in the *Brutus*, c. 1., how heartily and honourably Cicero spoke of him at a later period, when he had recovered from his suspicions. *Quum e Cilicia decedens Rhodum venissem et eo mihi de Hortensii morte esset allatum opinione omnium, majorem animo cepi dolorem. Nam et, amico amisso, quum consuetudine juvenatatum multorum officiorum conjunctione me privatum videbam etc. . . .* *dolebamque quod non, ut plerique putabant, adversarium aut obtrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius et consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram.*

a son ; in wise counsel, a father." His daughter, "a being of what piety ! what modesty ! what intelligence ! the image of himself in person, speech and soul : " his son, "the fairest and dearest of children ; already only too intelligent, for he felt the sorrows of his family : " * his wife, "that most faithful partner, the truest of consorts, whose society he must now forego, that some one might remain to protect the beloved children, whom alone their misfortunes had spared to them." ¹

¹ *Ep.* 63, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* i. 3.)

His beautiful house, now in ruins, was another subject of grief to him. He writes to Terentia, "Then first shall I regard myself as restored, when our house has been re-

² *Epp.* 70, 6.; stored to us." ²
76. (*Att.* iii.
15.; *Div.* xiv.
2.)

For such complaints as these, Cicero has been charged by many with unmanliness, while but few have been found to excuse him. Doubtless he could exhort and console others in similar sorrows better than himself.³ The language of the first and second books of his "Disputations at Tusculum" sounds very fine ; but these were the exertions of the philosopher ; at Thessalonica we have the man, in perplexity and sorrow ; a man too who was anything but a Stoic by nature. Two things are to be taken into consideration : first, the excitable feelings and temper, without which so much of Cicero's works would lose their charm for us ; secondly, his being a Roman citizen, devoted to the State by birth and circumstances, as well as by inclination. To the Roman citizen his country was something more than it is to us : it was the element in which alone he could live ; the air which alone he could breathe ; how much more must this have been the case with a man who had done for his country what Cicero had done ! These reflections, though they may not sufficiently to exculpate him, will still deter us from condemning

³ *Ep.* 176.
(*Div.* v. 17.);
comp. 179.
(*Div.* v. 18.)

* The boy was at that time about seven years old.

him so severely as some have done, who have allowed too little for his character and situation.

Whilst at Thessalonica, Cicero resided in the house of Cn. Plancius. He experienced some inconvenience from the crowd of people who flocked about the Quæstor; but he found him a true friend in his distress. The Prætor of Macedonia, L. Appuleius, though an upright and patriotic man, and well disposed towards Cicero, did not venture, as the first magistrate in the province, to declare openly in his favour or render him any assistance; but Plancius forgot the Quæstor in the friend; and when L. Tubero, the legate of Quintus, came to Thessalonica, and described to the exile with friendly zeal the dangers which awaited him in Achaia, endeavouring to persuade him to turn his steps to Asia, he forced him to remain with him, and by his gentle persuasions succeeded in diverting his cares and soothing the anguish of his soul. There is an affecting passage in the oration which Cicero delivered on a subsequent occasion in defence of this faithful friend, in which he alludes to a certain night which Plancius had spent in watching with him, and soothing him in his affliction; and relates how ardently he then wished a time might come, when he might repay such love and devotion.¹

¹ *Pro Planc.*
41.

However his friend's efforts may have tranquillized Cicero for a space, and withheld him from extremities, they could not avail to impart to him firmness and endurance, or give him hope for the future. Long did he hesitate whether to remain in Thessalonica: his fears urged him further. The representations of Atticus, however, who was ever hoping for some favourable change of circumstances, prevented him from yielding to their suggestions. His friend Sestius, one of the new Tribunes, and his son-in-law Piso, whose noble and honourable behaviour had increased the love and esteem in which he held him,

¹ *Epp.* 69, 2.; also advised him to remain in Thessalonica¹, as they anticipated certain movements in Rome, which might perhaps result in his favour. Atticus and others, especially Terentius Varro, endeavoured to give him confidence again

² *Epp.* 70, 1. in Pompeius; they calculated also upon Cæsar.² Accordingly Quintus did all in his power to raise the spirits of his brother. But hopes such as these could take no root in Cicero: he continued to indulge in wild abuse both of himself and others, and even Atticus, who had done so much for him, did not wholly escape his reproaches.³ He carefully weighed however the ground of the hopes his friend presented to him, and pondered on the idea, which he and the Tribune Culeo, an adherent of Pompeius, had conceived, of attacking the Rogation of Clodius as a *Privilegium*.* The letter in which Cicero discusses this point, depicts in the liveliest colours the shipwrecked mariner, who menaced by the raging flood, sees the fragments of his vessel scattered round him, but has lost all presence of mind, and while just able to keep his head above the water, and perceive what can save him, has not strength to seize it. When his friends hold out rational grounds of comfort to him, he thinks of the clause in the law of Clodius, which decrees, that "no one shall be allowed, under a heavy penalty, to speak in the Senate in the exile's favour," though he afterwards says himself that

⁴ *Epp.* 66, 1.; such a clause no one need care much about.⁴ Then he is uneasy at the election of his former enemy Metellus Nepos, as Consul for the ensuing year, forgetting that his good friend Lentulus is given him for a colleague, and that Pompeius and Lentulus, who were both suffering from

* *Ep.* 70, 6. (*Att.* iii. 15.) A *Privilegium* (*lex privo homini irrogata*) was a law directed against a particular citizen, which was forbidden by the *leges sacratæ* and by the Twelve Tables.

the insults of Clodius, had bound themselves strictly together.

In addition to all his troubles, he now heard that Quintus, though he had been received in Rome with great favour¹, and that on his brother's account, was about to be accused by a nephew of Clodius of malversation in his province; and that the management of the process would devolve upon the Prætor elect, a brother of Clodius, upon commencing his functions.² He sank deeper than ever in dejection: on the 21st August he was again thinking of Cyzicus³; but before he repaired thither he was willing to wait for what the 1st September might bring forth in the Senate.* His nature was peculiarly impatient of delay, and utterly unable to persevere in hoping for the distant results of time. The letter addressed to Atticus on the 16th September, is a living testimony of the deep despondency which had laid hold of him.⁴ He mentions his resolution to go to Epirus; he could not fail to observe, that circumstances were inclining in his favour: yet the melancholy which still haunted him may have suggested to him, that on the overthrow of all his hopes he might incur the penalty of disregarding the conditions of his exile.† Accordingly he begs his friend for just soil enough to cover his body.

The province of Macedonia having been assigned to Piso, his troops began to pour into the country, and they were reported to be already in Thessalonica, which was

* On the first day of each month the gravest affairs were brought forward in the Senate. The 1st September this year would be more important, on account of the Consuls, who had not long been nominated. [So A. U. 710, after the death of Cæsar, the senators were specially convened for September 1. During August they were mostly absent from Rome.]

† Ep. 74. (Att. iii. 19.) Dyrrachium, where he soon after went, and his friend's estates in Epirus, were strictly within the distance from Rome assigned him by the edict.

Epp. 78, 1.;
79, 8.; 81, 2.
(*Att.* iii. 22.;
Div. xiv. 1.
3.)

* *Epp.* 66, 2.;
70, 4. (*Att.*
iii. 12. 15.)

therefore no longer a safe abiding place for Cicero. accordingly abandoned this asylum, and arrived on 16th November at Dyrrachium, which was a free to and well disposed towards him, as he had often protected its interests.¹ Although at first compassion for Cicero's unhappy situation makes us judge leniently of his complaints, unmanly as they often were, and find some excuse for him in the peculiar bitterness of misfortunes such as must have had for a man of his temperament, it is impossible to overcome the painful impression made upon by his vacillation during his residence in Thessalonica, the faint-heartedness he displays in the midst of fortune's omens and conjunctures, and the impatience and despondency with which he regarded a future that opened under such favourable auspices. Nor less must we condemn the means he adopted to avert the consequences of the unauthorized publication of a speech he formerly delivered against Curio*², and above all his behaviour towards the friend who had testified such zeal and perseverance in his service. Yet his wife and son-in-law afford him examples of energy and endurance which it behooved him to imitate, as their misfortunes, as well as any hopes they might entertain of future prosperity,

* *Ep.* 66, 2. *Percussisti autem me etiam de oratione prolata. Cui vulnere ut scribis, medere, si quid potes. Scripsi equidem illi olim iratus, quod prior scripserat; sed ita compresseram ut nunquam emanaturum putarem. Quo modo exciderit nescio. Sed quia nunquam accidit ut cum eo verbo concertarem, et quia scripta mihi videtur negligentius quam cæteræ, puto potius probari non esse meam. Id, si putas me posse sanari, cures velim.* [Abele supposes the subject of this speech to have been the younger Curio. In that case he would surely have been qualified in *Ep.* 70. as *adolescens, meus, filius*. See Billerbeck *in loc.* Manutius and Schütz refer it to C. Scribonius Curio the elder (Consul A. U. 678). The speech itself is supposed to be cited by Quintil. (v. 10. 92.), and entitled by him *in Clodium et Curionem*, a combination which makes us think rather of the younger Curio than his father.

entered in him.¹ The strong affection for his family he so repeatedly expresses, is at least refreshing, amidst the ebullitions of peevishness with which his letters abound.

¹ *Epp.* 76.; 81, 2.; 79, 1. (*Div.* xiv. 2, 3, 1.) of Aug. 19.

We feel moved to pity although we cannot excuse him when we read: "One thing I assert, no man ever lost such blessings as I, nor fell into such calamities. Time not only does not diminish, but it increases my grief. Other sorrows are mitigated by time, but mine cannot fail to be daily augmented by the sense of present misery and the remembrance of my past life. I have lost not only my family and my possessions, but myself also."²

² *Ep.* 70, 2.; ! comp. 68, 2. (*Att.* iii. 15. 13.)

We must now give an account of what had occurred in his affairs previous to his arrival at Dyrrachium. Pompeius had not borne the affronts he had received from Clodius, especially his interference with regard to Tigranes, quite so patiently as Cicero imagined. This interference, on the contrary, had converted him into an opponent³ of the audacious Tribune, whose attempts moreover to deprive him of his influence with the people he could not fail to perceive. The flight of the Armenian prince took place in May; and Cicero had heard of it in Thessalonica by the 29th. On the 1st June his friend the Tribune L. Ninnius, in secret understanding with Pompeius, proposed his recall in the assembly. The Senate resolved unanimously to recommend the measure to the people's acceptance; but the Tribune Ælius Ligus, won over by Clodius, put his veto upon it. The Senate then resolved to postpone all business, till the Consuls should have made a new motion in favour of Cicero: this, however, they declined, pleading in their excuse the clause of the Clodian law.⁴

³ *Dio Cass.* xxxviii. 30.

⁴ *Pro Sest.* 31.; *In Pison.* 13.

Thenceforth, Pompeius, through the medium of his intimate friend Varro, began to make overtures to Cicero.⁵ He was too dependent upon Cæsar, to take, without his

⁵ *Epp.* 64, 1.; 65; 67.; 70, 1.; 73. (*Att.* iii. 10, 11. 14. 15. 18.)

¹ *Ep.* 73.
(*Att.* iii. 18.) consent, any direct steps for the proscribed statesman but perhaps this very feeling of dependence acted as a stimulus to induce him to exert himself indirectly for his recall, in the hopes of gaining him to his own interests. On the 11th August, discovery was made of an attempt on the part of Clodius against the life of Pompeius*, thereupon shut himself up in his house till the close of his enemy's Tribuneship. The Consul Gabinius considered himself obliged on this occasion to espouse the cause of Pompeius. Piso, however, remained constant to the Republic.² Cæsar also appears to have been unwilling to break with Clodius during his continuance in office. The Tribune elect, Sestius, who had travelled into Italy expressly on Cicero's account, could procure from him no effectual assistance³; not such as Cicero or himself would have liked. The Rogation he soon after proposed was not to Cicero's liking.⁴ In July, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, and Q. Metellus Nepos, were elected Consuls. The first was a friend both of Cicero and Pompeius, and had filled the office of Ædile in the Consulate of the latter; and Metellus no longer ventured to continue in hostility to Cicero out of fear of Pompeius, but was induced by Atticus to depart from his former persecution.⁵ When the proposition of Ninnius was renewed on the 29th October⁶, eight of the Tribunes voted in its favour. They proceeded to bring the law before the people in accordance with it, to which Lentulus gave his assistance. The law, however, was not carried; nor would it have satisfied Cicero, as it was framed with too much deference to Clodius, and did not restore to him his property, above all, his dearly loved

² *In. Pison.*
12.

³ *Pro Sest.*
33.

⁴ *Ep.* 73, 3.
(*Att.* iii. 18.)

⁵ *Ep.* 78, 1.
(*Att.* iii. 22.)

⁶ *Ep.* 80, 1.
(*Att.* iii. 23.);
Pro Sest. 32.

* *Pro Sest.* 32. *Ascon. or. in Mil.* p. 198. It has been suggested that this attempted assassination was in fact an invention of Pompeius' own. This is not very improbable: but that Clodius did undertake something against him appears from the speech against Piso (c. 12.).

house. Clodius had exerted all his influence to defeat the measure; and he apparently again persuaded one of the Tribunes to place his veto upon it. He had himself caused the formidable clause in his Rogation to be affixed to the door of the Curia¹, but this could only have any effect while there were Consuls and Tribunes who would enforce it. <sup>¹ Ep. 70, 6.
(Att. iii. 15.)</sup>

Soon after Cicero's arrival at Dyrrachium, the Tribunate of Clodius was brought to an end, and the new Tribunes entered on their office. His enemy had now been compelled to resign the power which he had used so much to his prejudice, and was succeeded by men from whose friendship and ability he might hope the best. Amongst the new Tribunes were T. Annius Milo, subsequently the slayer of Clodius; P. Sestius, who, as before mentioned, had taken a journey to confer with Cæsar in his behalf, and whom at a later period he defended; T. Fadius, who before this had proposed a Rogation in his favour, with which he had been highly pleased²; and <sup>² Ep. 80, 1.
(Att. iii. 23.)</sup> Q. Fabricius, who showed himself so zealous in his behalf at the commencement of the following year: all these promised to use their authority in behalf of Cicero.³ The <sup>³ Pro Sest.
33.</sup> two Consuls left Rome, and repaired to their respective provinces before the end of the year 696.

Cicero had thus on his arrival at Dyrrachium a well-grounded hope of attaining the object of his ardent desire, and just before his departure from Thessalonica he writes himself as follows⁴: "If, however, we have all the Tribunes on our side, if Lentulus prove as zealous as he appears to be, and if we have also Cæsar and Pompeius, we need not despair." His friend Atticus, who had supplied him with money at the time of his flight and afterwards⁵, besides spending a good deal for him in Rome, had <sup>⁴ Ep. 79, 2.
(Div. xiv. 1.)</sup> now come into a large fortune by the death of his uncle <sup>⁵ Comp.
Corn. Nep.
vit Att. 4.</sup>

Cæcilius*, and might therefore be expected to render him yet further assistance. Moreover, prudence would now incline the majority of the senators to espouse his cause. Nevertheless, he could not shake off his despondency and irresolution, or cease to torment himself with anxieties. That Cæsar, Pompeius, and Crassus did declare themselves more quickly and decidedly for him, that the Consuls elect had chosen their provinces without waiting for the accession of the new Tribunes, when these latter might be offended †²; and lastly, that Atticus should leave Rome before the end of the year³, were circumstances that occasioned him the utmost disquiet. He writes to his wife on the last day of November⁴: "I have almost blotted out your letters with my tears. I am pining away with grief; and my own misery does pain me more than yours and your children's. But I am so much more wretched than you, as I alone am the cause of our common misfortune. It was my duty, either by accepting a legatio to escape the danger, or by prudence and vigour to resist it, or else to fall bravely. Nothing could have been more miserable, more disgraceful, or more unworthy of myself than this; and, accordingly, I was overwhelmed with shame as well as grief. It shames me not to have afforded an example of virtue and diligence to my best of wives, to my darling children. Day and night your misery and destitution, your grief, and your infirm health are before me. My hope of relief is very small. Many are hostile to me, all jealous. It was difficult to thrust me out; to keep me out is easy."

¹ Ep. 80. 2.
(Att. iii. 23.)

² Ep. 82.
(Att. iii. 24.)

³ Ep. 83.
(Att. iii. 25.)

⁴ Ep. 81. 1.
(Div. xiv. 3.)

* From this time Atticus wrote his name Q. Cæcilius Q. fil. Pomponius Atticus. See the address of Cicero's letter to him, Ep. 75. (Att. iii.)

† According to the *lex Sempronia*, the future provinces of the Consuls about to be elected, were to be determined before their election. After election, but still before their accession to office, these provinces were formally assigned to them, and this was called *ornare provincias*.

A visit from Atticus, which he received towards the end of the year at Dyrrachium¹, must have been some comfort to him; but his friend had hardly left him when his old anxieties began again to disturb him. The news which reached him from Rome of a delay in his affairs, or of any possible hindrance occurring to them, sufficed to dash to the ground all hope and confidence.

¹ *Ep. 83.*
(*Att. iii. 25.*)

THE YEAR 697.

On the 1st January, after the completion of the religious ceremonies, the Consul Lentulus brought forward in the Senate a proposal for Cicero's recall. The senators had assembled in great numbers, the populace was in the highest state of expectation, and envoys flocked to Rome from all parts of Italy. The Consul Metellus expressed himself with moderation, and was favourable to his colleague's proposition, which was also supported by the Consular L. Cotta, who in a powerful speech urged that Cicero should be recalled by the Senate, and that with every mark of honour. Similar sentiments were uttered by Pompeius; he was of opinion, however, that the resolution of the Senate should be confirmed by a decree of the people. All the senators assented²; and in spite of the opposition of the Tribune Serranus, who had been gained by Clodius, the proposition was on the 24th January brought before the people, with the active co-operation of the Tribune Q. Fabricius. Upon this the friends of Clodius raised a tumult with hired gladiators, which resulted in bloodshed. The Prætor Appius Claudius took part with his brother; the Tribune Sestius and Quintus Cicero hardly escaped with their lives; and Clodius finally conquered by fire and sword.³

² *Pro Sest.*
33, 34.

³ *Pro Sest.*
35—38.

We learn from a letter to Atticus⁴, with what intense anxiety Cicero watched the issue of the resolution of the

⁴ *Ep. 84.*
(*Att. iii. 26.*)

Senate. He determined on the strength of that decree alone, to go to Rome, even if the law should not be passed by the people; and rather to lose his life than suffer any longer exile from his country. As might have been expected, he did not carry out this intention, but his despair was unbounded when the intelligence of the occurrences of the 25th January reached him.*¹

¹ *Ep.* 85.
(*Att.* iii. 27.)]

For this act of violence, Clodius was arraigned by the Tribune Milo; but his brother the Prætor Appius, the Consul Metellus, and Serranus the Tribune, sheltered him with their edicts²; and Milo now took in pay a band of gladiators to defend himself against those of his opponent.†

² *Pro Sest.* 41.

The Senate upon this decreed that no other business should be entered upon till that of Cicero's recall was effected. Letters were issued in the name of the Consuls, to every part of Italy, summoning to Rome all persons well disposed towards Cicero and the Republic: all the governors, legates, and quæstors of the provinces through which he would pass, were enjoined to provide for his welfare.³ Pompeius exerted all his influence, both within and without the city, in his behalf, and Lentulus kept the people in good-humour with public games. Cicero's recall was again decreed in the Temple of Honos and Virtus which Marius had built with the spoils of the Cimbri.†⁴

³ *Pro Sest.* 60.

⁴ *Pro Sest.* 54. 56.

* The letters 84, 85, which Schütz assigns to the year 696, seem to me to belong to the period in which I refer to them. [Billerbeck also assigns them to Jan. 697. In 84 Cicero speaks of *Senatus consultum quod de me factum est*, evidently the decree proposed by the new Consul Lentulus Spinther.]

† *De Off.* ii. 17.; Dio Cass. xxxix. 7, 8. Clodius had hired these gladiators in the expectation of becoming Ædile, or at least under this pretext.

‡ The succession of events and decrees for Cicero's recall is not easily made out, inasmuch as the speech for Sestius, which is the main authority, is an unsafe guide for them. The 60th chapter of that speech, however, seems to me to prove that the meeting in the Temple of Jupiter was later than that in the Temple of Honos and Virtus. For the decrees which were meant to secure the carrying of the law, and which were there added to those of the former assembly, went quite as far as the Senate could legitimately go.

Clodius had done his best to hinder the decree being passed, and he now succeeded in preventing its being carried into execution.¹ In May, the Senate being assembled^{1 Pro Sest. 59.} in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, Pompeius made a speech, in which he avowed that Cicero had saved his country. The Consul Metellus at the same time solemnly renounced all animosity towards him; and once more a decree was passed, more strongly worded than before, and so framed as to overcome any impediment that might be thrown in the way of its execution, and the following day vigorous measures were taken to ensure its adoption.^{2 2 Pro Sest. 60, 61.} Two months, however, elapsed before the decree could be presented to the people. This was done at length on the 4th August, and on that day Cicero was recalled at the comitia of the centuries, whither the people, and not only the residents in Rome, repaired in great numbers, and where the votes of all the centuries were unanimous. The remonstrances of Clodius were disregarded.

Time, it is said, has a purifying effect; but Cicero's letters, infinitely valuable as they are, counteract this influence, inasmuch as they make us live and move in the period in which they were written, and place the man and all his foibles before us. The picture he has presented of himself in this period, is displeasing, and we long to see him again, in a more favourable light. Cicero however was more completely removed from the eyes of the Roman people during his banishment, than from posterity, who have his letters by which to judge of him; and the period of separation was long enough to remove the transient spots which might have dimmed his lasting reputation. We close the present period with the following scene which occurred without premeditation.³

On the day when the Senate was framing in the Temple of Honour and Virtue the decree for Cicero's recall, the^{3 Pro Sest. 56, 57.}

people were assembled in the theatre; and there the art of Æsopus the actor, and the words of the poet which he had to deliver, excited the liveliest remembrance of the exile, the warmest sympathy with him. When he spoke of the Greek who “supported and upheld his country and stood by it to the last, regardless of his own life, in its time of direst need,”* every one thought of the Consul, whose foresight, prudence, and perseverance had confounded the frightful schemes of Catilina; the mention of the man “endowed with the highest gifts of intellect,” recalled to their recollection the orator who had so often swayed the populace from the rostrum; and when the heroine of the tragedy addressed her father in accents of grief, they thought of the man whom Catulus had invoked as “Father of his Fatherland.”¹ The words “I saw all this in flames,” reminded them of the hour when Cicero’s house on the Palatine was destroyed, and when Æsopus exclaimed with emphasis and deep emotion, “You allow him to live in exile, you permitted him to be driven from his home!” the audience felt at once all the exile’s exceeding merit, and the injuries he had suffered at the hands of his countrymen.

¹ *Pro Sest.*
57.

* *Pro Sest.* 56. The play was the “Andromache” of Ennius, and the words referred to Telamon.

Certo qui rempublicam animo adjuverit,

Statuerit, steterit cum Achivis

. . . . re dubia

Nec dubitarit vitum offerre, nec capiti pepercerit,

. . . . Summum amicum, summo in bello

. summo ingenio præditum

O pater

Hæc omnia vidi inflammari

O ingratifici Argivi, inanes Graii, immemores benefici,

Exsulare sinitis, sistis pelli, pulsum patimini.

BOOK V.



LETTERS OF CICERO,

IN THE YEARS

697 to 702. B. C. 57 to 52.



CICERO'S RESTORATION.

U

BOOK V.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 697. B. C. 57. CIC. 50.

P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SPINTHER. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

THE Belgæ unite against the Roman armies. Cæsar, having penetrated into their country with eight legions, compels them to submit. The Nervii alone remain in arms, and are conquered in a hard fought battle. Ptolemæus Auletes, having been banished from Egypt, comes to Rome to implore succour. M. Cato returns to Rome, having, in pursuance of the Clodian law, converted Cyprus into a Roman province.

A. U. 698. B. C. 56. CIC. 51.

CÆS. CORNELIUS LENTULUS MARCELLINUS. L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

The Veneti and other Armorican tribes rise against the Romans in Gaul. Having received liberal supplies of money from the public treasury, Cæsar equips a fleet, beats the enemy at sea, and compels them to submit. Meanwhile the Aquitani are defeated by Crassus, and the remaining tribes by others of his lieutenants. Piso and Gabinius carry on a shameful maladministration of their respective provinces, Macedonia and Syria.

A. U. 699. B. C. 55. CIC. 52.

CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS II. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS II.

Cæsar conquers the Usipetes and Tenctheri, German tribes who had crossed the Rhine with the view of establishing themselves in Gaul. He compels them to recross the river, and then leads his own army across it to carry on the pursuit. The barbarians continuing to retreat before him, he returns into Gaul after eighteen days; then conducts two legions into Britain; where, however, he does nothing of importance, and spends the winter with all his legions in Belgium. Gabinius conducts Ptolemæus back to Egypt, and after some successful encounters with his enemies, reinstates him in his dominions.

A. U. 700. B. C. 54. CIC. 53.

L. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS. APPIUS CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

Cæsar crosses a second time into Britain, gains a victory in the south of the island, receives hostages, and returns to Gaul. The Eburones rise under their chief Ambiorix, and destroy a legion stationed among them in winter quarters.

Q. Cicero defends himself with difficulty against the Nervii, and is saved by Cæsar. Crassus prepares for war against the Parthians, but after loitering for some time in Mesopotamia, returns to Syria, where he enriches himself and his troops with plunder, and especially with that of the temple at Jerusalem. Pompeius places his province of Spain under the government of his legates, L. Afranius and M. Petreius.

A. U. 701. B. C. 53. CIC. 54.

CN. DOMITIUS CALVINUS. M. VALERIUS MESSALA.

Cæsar reduces all the revolted tribes in Gaul, and

crosses the Rhine a second time to intimidate the Germans.

Crassus at length advances against the Parthians, but, betrayed by Abgarus, king of Osrhoene, he is surrounded by the Parthian army, and flies to Charrhæ, while his son falls gallantly with the cavalry. At Charrhæ Crassus holds an interview with the Parthian general, and is treacherously put to death. Scarcely the tenth part of his army returns to Syria.

A. U. 702. B. C. 52. CIC. 55.

CN. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, PIVS SCIPIO from the 1st Aug. Up to that date POMPEIVS alone, III.

Increased disturbances in Gaul. The Arverni rise under Vercingetorix. Soon the whole of Gaul is in arms. Cæsar exerts all his strength, and Vercingetorix at length surrenders himself. In Syria, the Quæstor C. Cassius drives back the encroaching Parthians. The Tribune of the people, M. Cælius, carries a law empowering Cæsar, though absent, to sue for the Consulate.

FROM 697 to 699.

On the 4th of August 697, the same day that the law for his recall was passed in Rome, Cicero, informed no doubt of the favourable turn his affairs had taken, quitted Dyrrachium, and the next day landing at Brundisium, once more trod the soil of Italy. There he was met by his daughter Tullia, whose birthday it happened to be.¹ *Ep. 87, 1. (Att. iv. 1.); comp. pro Sest. 63.* The colony of Brundisium was engaged in celebrating the anniversary of its foundation; and on this same 5th of August, 246 years before, the dictator, C. Junius Bubulius¹, had consecrated the Temple of the Dea Salus on the Quirinal hill.² These circumstances gave additional ² *Ep. 87, 1. (Att. iv. 1.); comp. pro Sest. 63.* fervour to the congratulations of the Brundisians; and if

Cicero's heart was melted at the sight of his daughter who had recently lost her noble husband Piso¹, his enthusiasm might kindle at the thought that the Goddess who presided over his country's welfare had recalled him as its representative. On the 8th, while still at Brundisium, he received tidings from his brother of the extraordinary rejoicings with which the law for his recall had been accepted and ratified by all the centuries.² He could not have desired a procedure more honourable to himself in form and substance. The Senate had issued a decree that no one should observe the heavens* whilst they were sitting to decide upon the law, nor attempt any hindrance whatsoever, on pain of being considered an enemy of the State and severely punished. If the law should not be carried within the five days to which its discussion was confined, Cicero should be permitted to return to Rome, and should be reinstated in all his dignities; the citizens who had assembled from all parts of Italy to assist in his recall were to be thanked, and requested to present themselves again on the day fixed for the ratification of the law.³ Then might Cicero call to mind the remarkable dream with which he had been visited during his flight from Rome, and whilst he was still in Italy. In the morning, when dreams are wont to be most vivid, he fancied in his sleep that he was wandering mournfully in a desert place, when his countryman C. Marius met him, with his fasces decked with laurel, and asked him the cause of his melancholy; and on Cicero telling him how he had been driven by force from Rome, Marius spoke words of comfort to him, and caused a lictor to conduct him into "the Monument," where he would find deliver-

* By the *lex Ælia Fufia* an assembly of the people might be broken up on the appearance of unfavourable signs in the heavens. This law, abolished by Clodius, had been revived after his Tribunate.

¹ *Pro Sest.* 31.

² *Ep.* 87, 1.
(*Att.* iv. 1.)

³ *Pro Sest.*
61, 62.

ance. The Temple of Honour and Virtue was called the "Monument of Marius,"¹ and in this temple had been¹ *Pro Planc.* 32. passed the first decree of the Senate for Cicero's return, which was ratified by that of May.²

He now left Brundisium where he had again found a welcome in the house of Lænius Flaccus, and where he was vividly reminded of the sad days he had passed there in the first bitterness of his exile.³ He longed to be in³ *Pro Sest.* 63. Rome, but he was retarded on his way thither by the crowds of congratulators, who flocked to meet him, and by the deputations to which he had to give audience, as well as by the fêtes which were everywhere held in his honour. "All the towns on my road," he says in his speech for Sestius⁴, "seemed to celebrate my return with festivals."⁴ *Pro Sest.* 63.; comp. *in Pison.* 22. The highways were thronged with deputations sent from all parts to meet me. On approaching the city, I was joyfully greeted by an innumerable host of well-wishers. Such was my way from the gate to the Capitol, such my entry into my house*, as to touch me with grief, even in the midst of my pleasure, at the thought of all the misery and oppression under which this grateful city was groaning."† He arrived in Rome on the 4th of September.

* He must mean the house of a friend, or some other residence of his own than that on the Palatine.

† Comp. *Ep.* 87, 1. "When I drew near the city, not a single citizen whose name is known to a nomenclator, failed to come forth to meet me. On arriving at the *Porta Capena* (through which the road to Capua lay) I beheld the steps of the temples crowded with men of the lowest classes, who expressed their sympathy with the loudest acclamations. By a similar stream of people, by similar shouts of rejoicing, was I attended all the way to the Capitol." The speeches *in Senatu*, and *ad Quirites post reditum*, which bear Cicero's name, are held, it is well known, on strong grounds, to be spurious. [The genuineness of these orations was first questioned by Markland in the middle of the last century, assailed still more vehemently by Wolf, and surrendered tacitly by Orelli. As usual in such cases, it is far easier to point out internal grounds of suspicion, than to establish a plausible theory

On the following day he returned thanks to the Senate, and afterwards addressed the people in the Forum.¹ The Senate was at this time engaged in deliberations touching the supply of corn, as the citizens were suffering greatly from scarcity.² Clodius had endeavoured to make them believe that Cicero was the author of their distress; but his insinuations, it would appear, had had little weight, for the rejoicing was great and universal at the public reading of the edict to provide measures of relief, of which Cicero was announced to be the author.³

The people were desirous that the supply of the city should be entrusted to Pompeius, who on his part was anxious for the office, since, in the position he then occupied, anything was acceptable to him which tended to enhance his importance in the eyes of the people. In consequence of his pressing solicitations Cicero proposed in the Senate that he should be treated with on the subject, and that if he accepted the commission, a law conferring it on him should be framed and presented for ratification to the people. Pompeius gladly consented to

for the existence of the speeches themselves on the supposition of their being spurious. The objections to them however seem far from conclusive (at the present moment the current of opinion seems to set again in their favour), and in any case their value as historical documents is little impeached by them. It is known that Cicero delivered speeches on the occasions to which they refer, and that he was well pleased with them as specimens of his oratorical powers; we may conclude therefore that they were published and obtained notoriety in Rome. The impugnors of the genuineness of the existing speeches allow that they must have been written, as rhetorical exercises, no later than the Augustan age, being evidently the same as those on which Asconius (*temp* Neron) commented. It is clear therefore that if they are not Cicero's, the writer must have had the originals before him, and kept the facts and details distinctly in view." Merivale, *Hist. Rom. Emp.* i. 368., note. It may be added, that the feebleness in style and sentiment objected to these speeches is no more than we might naturally expect from the mortification and humiliation which lay at Cicero's heart at the moment, however much he might disguise them from himself and the world.]

¹ *Ep.* 87, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 1.);
Dio. Cass.
xxxix. 9.

² *Ep.* 87, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 1.)

³ *Ep.* 87, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 1.)

undertake the charge, but stipulated for absolute command over the public stores and corn-rents, and for the assistance of fifteen legates to act under his directions. The popular mind having been first prepared by a speech from Cicero, the Senate, although many of the principal members at first hesitated to increase the power of Pompeius, resolved to grant all his demands, and a decree to that effect was accordingly presented to the people. Cicero, who conducted the whole business, wisely refused to second the proposition of the Tribune Messius, who, influenced no doubt by Pompeius, moved that this charge should be still further augmented by combining with it a military command. Anxious, however, not to offend the great man whose countenance he still needed for his own interests, he contented himself with remaining silent.¹

¹ Ep. 87, 2.
(Att. iv. 1.)

In requiring his fifteen legates, Pompeius named Cicero as the first whose services he was desirous of securing, and promised that he should be his "second self."² No doubt² it was a great point for him to have such a man on his side. Cicero however would only accept the honourable invitation on condition that if the next Consuls should hold comitia for the election of Censors, he should be allowed to sue for that office, or, should he desire it, for a *legatio votiva*.* As he was unwilling to leave the city at this time, he appears, with the approbation of Pompeius, to have deputed his brother Quintus to discharge his new

² Ep. 87, 2.
(Att. iv. 1.)

* Ep. 88, 2. (Att. iv. 2.) After the words of the passage here cited, *votivam legem sumere*, some MSS. read : *prope omnium fanorum ac sacrorum locorum* : which are supposed to be a gloss. The *legatio votiva* was the leave got by a senator to fulfil a vow. [i. e. to travel abroad on private affairs under pretext of making offerings in holy places, with the privilege of a *legatus*, or envoy of the Republic. Orelli regards the whole passage as genuine, and supposes the latter formal words to be introduced in jest.]

duties. Quintus accordingly went into Sardinia in December.*

Cicero's most engrossing care at present was the recovery of his villas and of his house in Rome. After the demolition of the latter, Clodius had by the most daring and shameful means appropriated to himself a large area on the Palatine hill, and had besides caused the Portico of Q. Catulus (a memorial of the victory over the Cimbri, which abutted on the house of Cicero), to be destroyed, and another erected in its place, destined to bear his own name.† This was annexed to a Temple of Liberty which he erected on a portion of this large space of ground, hoping thus permanently to alienate the whole area from Cicero. The restoration of the property became under these circumstances a question to be decided on by the Pontifical College. The cause was accordingly brought before it, and Cicero delivered an oration on the occasion, on the 30th of September.¹ They decided that "if he who consecrated the temple had done it without the

¹ *Ep.* 88, 1.
(*Att.* iv. 2.);
Dio. Cass.
xxxix. 11.

* *Ep.* 90, 2. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 1.) The chief authority for the above is the speech *pro domo* (5, 6.), the genuineness of which is no doubt much suspected. On the importance of the commission given to Pompeius, see *Dio Cass.* xxxix. 9. [He was to receive the proconsular imperium, with authority superior to that of any provincial governor.

Dio remarks, Καὶ ὁ μὲν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατὰποντισταῖς πρότερον, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἐπὶ τῇ πάσης αἰθῆς τῆς οἰκουμένης, τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις, τότε οὔσης, ἄρξειν ἔμελλε.]

† On the site of this monument stood, at an earlier period, the house of M. Fulvius Flaccus. When this man was executed by command of the Senate, for his connexion with the attempts of C. Gracchus, his house also was razed to the ground, and upon its foundation Catulus afterwards erected his Portico. Of the speech which he addressed to the Pontiffs, Cicero says, *Ep.* 88, 1. (*Att.* iv. 2.): *Si unquam in dicendo fuimus aliquid, aut etiam si unquam alias fuimus, tum profecto dolor et magnitudo vim quondam nobis dicendi dedit.* Wolf has shown that the speech *pro domo* which we possess as Cicero's, by no means answers to this encomium.

express authorization of the people, the area in question might without prejudice to religion be restored to Cicero." This judgment was laid before the Senate and received the support of nearly all its members, especially of M. Lucullus and the Consul elect Marcellinus. But Clodius, who had already tried to excite the minds of the populace by an harangue, in which he called upon them to protect their "Libertas,"¹ vehemently opposed the edict in a long oration, and got his faithful adherent the Tribune Serranus to interpose his veto. The Senate defended itself by means which it then not unfrequently adopted.* It declared that if any violence were used against its decree, the man who forbade it should be held responsible. The measure was carried, and the sum of two million sesterces were voted to Cicero for the rebuilding of his house, and half a million and a quarter of a million respectively for the restoration of his Tusculan and Formian villas.[†]² The Portico of Catulus was to be forthwith reconstructed.

¹ Ep. 88, 1.
(Att. iv. 2.);
Dio Cass.
xxxix. 11.

² Ep. 88, 1.
(Att. iv. 2.);
Dio. Cass.
xxxix. 11.

Cicero was by no means satisfied with these sums, and he recognized in the result of the transaction the work of his ill-wishers, who had been striving ever since his return to clip the wings they saw again about to grow; and here we may discern the first seeds of that discontent which caused him in the year following to throw himself into the arms of Cæsar.³

³ Ep. 106, 1.;
87, 2. (Att. iv.
5, 1.)

His vexation was the greater, as he was already suffering under pecuniary difficulties which induced him to offer

* So in regard to the law about Cicero's return. The passage 88, 1. is important. It shows us how the Senate had learnt at last to protect itself from the obstinate opposition of the Tribunes, and their measures so often seditious.

† [The compensation for the Palatine house was fixed at *H. S. vicies*, something less than 1800*l.* of our money; that of the Tusculan *quingentis libris*, or nearly 4500*l.*; of the Formican at half that sum : *certe valde illiraliter.*]

¹ *Ep.* 88, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 2.)

one of his estates for sale¹; and the happiness which a few weeks before he flattered himself he had at length attained, was further disturbed by some domestic annoyances arising probably from the want of harmony between himself and his wife.²

² *Epp.* 87, 2.;
Att. iv. 1, 2.)

³ *Ep.* 89.
(*Att.* iv. 3.)

Clodius, meanwhile, persevered in his violent proceedings.³ On the 3rd of November one of his hired gangs drove away the workmen from Cicero's ground, pulled down the Portico of Catulus which was completed nearly to the roof, and set fire to the neighbouring house of Quintus; Clodius himself rushed furiously through the city endeavouring by promises of emancipation to get slaves to join him; for even his own had abandoned him. On the 11th of November, Cicero was personally attacked by him and his gang in the Via Sacra, and compelled to take refuge in the house of a plebeian. The following day they threatened the dwelling of Milo, and a bloody conflict ensued.

Clodius looked forward to obtaining the Ædileship this year, and thus escaping the punishment due to these lawless acts. The populace was in great measure favourable to him, and he was protected by his brother-in-law the Consul Metellus, who still cherished his old dislike to Cicero. Milo, however, by virtue of his office, could hinder the comitia for the election of Ædiles, and this prerogative he vigorously exerted.* Clodius succeeded by means of his party in exciting a tumult in the Senate, and thus thwarting the proposition of Racilius for a legal inquiry into his conduct.⁴

⁴ *Ep.* 90, 2.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 1.)

This was in December. In the beginning of the following year he was actually chosen Ædile. Amongst the

* Already in the course of these proceedings Cicero writes in November, *Si se inter viam obtulerit (Clodius), occisum iri ab ipso Milone video.* *Ep.* 89. (*Att.* iv. 3.)

Tribunes who entered upon office in December 697, Cicero placed his best hopes on Racilius, and after him on Antistius Vetus; he could also securely count on the friendship of Plancius, who had so warmly befriended him in Macedonia.¹

¹ *Ep.* 90, 2.
(*Qu. fr.* ii.
1.)

In the summer of 697, soon after his return to Rome, he wrote to his friend Atticus², "I have recovered more fully than I ventured to hope, more than in my present circumstances seemed possible, my ancient reputation in the Forum, my influence in the Senate, and the favour of all good men." To preserve all this, and thoroughly to recover his position, was now his principal object; and in the first months after his return, in the elevation of spirits consequent upon that event, he felt he had strength and courage for the task.³ "My courage is great," he writes in November, when he had already suffered many annoyances, "greater even than in my former prosperity."

² *Ep.* 87, 1.
(*Att.* iv. 1.)

³ *Ep.* 89. *in fin.* (*Att.* iv. 3.)

Whilst writing in this strain, however, he must have forgotten how totally different were his own position and that of the State from what they had been in the days of his Consulate. Appian says with reference to the part acted by Pompeius in his recall⁴, "Pompeius hoped that the experience of the last two years would have rendered Cicero more wise and cautious in his political conduct, whilst at the same time he was anxious to check the ambitious attempts of Clodius, and he therefore effected Cicero's recall from the banishment to which at his instigation he had been sentenced." The same might be said of Cæsar, except that he could not fail to observe with satisfaction the enmity of Clodius against Pompeius. Thus Cicero's position was far from one of freedom or independence.

⁴ Appian,
B. C. ii. 16.;
comp. *Dio*
Cass. xxxix.
6.

As at the time he was aspiring to the Consulate he had furthered the aggrandizement of Pompeius to secure his

own advancement, so now was he forced in all his actions still to consult that chief's interest in gratitude for his recall. The brightest period of his own life now lay behind him ; and Pompeius, whose star was likewise on the decline, used him to maintain as much as he could of his own earlier lustre. If Pompeius on the one hand indulged Cicero by letting him remove from the Capitol the tablet on which the decree of banishment and other violent measures of the Tribune had been inscribed*, Cicero on his part, by his first public act, when he got for Pompeius the command of the corn supplies, in spite of the secret opposition of the nobles, had proved his own dependence upon him, and let it be seen what part he must thenceforth play, if he wished to mix in public affairs.

The next year (698) opens with a series of letters differing considerably in character from most of those with which we have been hitherto occupied. They are addressed to statesmen by a statesman, and we may notice in them a more artificial and laboured style of diction, together with an ambiguity of expression, often throwing out significant hints of matters which it appeared hazardous to speak of openly ; whereas the earlier letters of Cicero, addressed for the most part to Atticus and Quintus, were familiar and confidential, and written in language answering to their contents, though they too are characterized by a concise and careless brevity which often leaves more to be inferred than is expressed.†

* Dio Cass. xxxix. 21.; Plut. *Cic.* 34. In his hatred to Clodius, Pompeius probably viewed this proceeding with satisfaction. It caused some coldness between Cicero and Cato, who returned from Cyprus in 697. Cato had discharged the commission imposed upon him by Clodius, miserable as it was, with great diligence and honesty ; in money matters even with meanness ; and he now wanted to have his acts confirmed by the Senate. Cicero's proceedings against Clodius seemed likely to obstruct this object. Dio Cass. xxxix. 22.

† Of the period from Cicero's return to the end of the year 697, we have

In January 698 the Senate was busily engaged with the question, whether the king Ptolemæus Auletes, who, as a friend of the Romans and a fugitive from his own subjects, had appealed to it for aid *, should be reinstated in his dominions, and if so, in what manner this should be effected. The honourable commission which had been promised to Lentulus, at this time Proconsul of Cilicia, was now ardently coveted by Pompeius, who had received the fugitive monarch into his own house, and was anxious to lead him back at the head of an army. He wished to obtain a military command which might place him more on an equality with Cæsar; while the aristocrats, on the other hand, dreaded to increase the power which his commission for supplying the city gave him; and the more as his union with Cæsar and Crassus still subsisted.

Just at the right moment, an oracle was found in the Sybilline books, which declared that "an Egyptian sovereign would seek the protection of the Romans. Assistance, it said, might be granted him, but not with force of numbers." †

The Senate availed themselves of this circumstance, and all idea of employing a military force was abandoned; the only question now being, whether the king should be reinstated at all; and if so, whether the commission should be

three letters to Atticus and one to Quintus. That to the latter is directed to Sardinia. Besides these a jocose letter addressed to Fabius Gallus, from the Tusculanum, whither he had retired on account of sickness, probably belongs to the same year. *Ep.* 91. (*Div.* vii. 26.)

* Ptolemæus had caused the envoys to be assassinated who were sent by the Alexandrians to counteract his suit at Rome. *Dio Cass.* xxxix. 13.

† *Ep.* 92, 1. 3. (*Div.* i.); *Dio Cass.* xxxix. 15. [The phrase, it is said, was *sine multitudine*, which was interpreted to mean, without an army; hence Cicero speaks of *religio de exercitu*. In his letter to Lentulus he does not scruple to hint that this pretended oracle was a forgery (*nomen inductum fictæ religionis*, *Ep.* 92, 2., *Div.* i. 1.). *Hæc est opinio*, he says, *populi Rom.*]

entrusted to Lentulus or to Pompeius and two others; or, lastly, to three envoys of inferior note. Cicero was sorely perplexed by this question. He felt bound to advocate the cause of Lentulus, who had the voice of the Senate in his favour, and had been instrumental to his own restoration, while, on the other hand, he dared not decidedly oppose the wishes of Pompeius, who, whilst professing indifference on his own account, and even advocating the claims of Lentulus in the Senate, was secretly endeavouring by the aid of his faithful adherents to secure the appointment for himself. Ptolemæus also desired that his should be the agency employed on the occasion. Cicero appears to have been misled for some time by the silence of Pompeius, and the secret nature of his proceedings, of which he complains in a letter to Lentulus¹; though perhaps he was not altogether sorry for it, as he was thus able to range himself on the side of Lentulus, together with Hortensius and M. Lucullus, and to assert at the same time that he was acting in accordance with the intimations made him by Pompeius himself. In this manner we may explain a confidential letter to Quintus, in which he tells him that he has fulfilled his promises both to Pompeius and to Lentulus most satisfactorily, and without offending either party.² In the numerous letters however, addressed to Lentulus on this subject, we find manifest tokens of his embarrassment³; and one cannot help suspecting that the rhetorical style so often apparent in them, was adopted to conceal a secret grudge against Lentulus, possibly for the inadequate compensation of his personal losses.⁴

¹ *Ep.* 100, 2.
(*Div.* i. 5.)

² *Ep.* 97, 5.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 2.)

³ *Ep.* 92—96,
100, 101, 113,
125. (*Div.* i.
1.—8.)

⁴ *Ep.* 88.
(*Att.* iv. 2.)

⁵ *Ep.* 100.
(*Div.* i. 5.)

The king's cause occupied the Senate for a long time. Pompeius, not being supported by Cæsar's party, saw his own hopes frustrated⁵, and then came forward without reserve as the most zealous friend of Lentulus, whom he

counselled, in conjunction with Cicero, to undertake the restoration of the king on his own responsibility¹, for the¹ *Ep. 113.*
(Div. i. 7.) Senate had begun to discourage the scheme altogether. It was of some importance to Pompeius to gain the good will of so distinguished a personage as Lentulus. The coveted honour fell, however, eventually to neither of them. For the cause being long procrastinated, and Ptolemæus, after a considerable loss of time and money, finally placing himself under the protection of the Ephesian Diana, Gabinius, who was Proconsul of Syria, took the matter into his own hands, probably at the instigation, certainly with the approval of Pompeius, and by force of arms reinstated the king in his dominions, stipulating for a large reward for his services.*

Clodius, who still continued to enjoy the favour of the populace, was chosen Ædile on the 22nd of January †, and on the 3rd of the following month he instituted a process against Milo², accusing him of violent conduct in² *Ep. 99, 1.*
(Qu. fr. ii. 3.) the transactions at the beginning of the year 697, which produced Cicero's recall. Pompeius came forward as Milo's patron, but his speech to the people on the 6th, as well as that of Clodius, was tumultuously interrupted. Nothing was effected on that day, and the process had no decided result. The object of Clodius was indeed only to irritate and affront the friends of Cicero and abuse his defenders, especially Pompeius³, who was gradually losing³ *Dio Cass.*
xxxix. 18, 19 ground with the people through his means. In coming forward in defence of Milo, Pompeius was probably actu-

* These proceedings are detailed by Dio Cassius, xxxix. 12—16. 55—62.

† This at least was the day appointed for the election. It should have taken place before the close of the year. The delay is attributed by Manutius to the intrigues of Clodius and his opponents, the one party seeking to become Ædile before the impeachment *de Vi* with which he was threatened, the latter to frustrate this object. Clodius succeeded, and baffled his prosecutors. *Ep. 97, 4. (Qu. fr. ii. 2.)*

ated by his desire to bind Cicero as closely as possible to his own interests; for it was becoming daily more apparent to him that Cæsar was rapidly eclipsing him, and he must have contemplated with alarm the lengths to which his policy of flattering the populace might lead him. An aristocrat by birth, as were all those whose early fortunes had been founded upon Sulla, Pompeius needed for his adherents men of weight and importance like Cicero and Lentulus, to balance the scales against Cæsar. True, he, like his rival, had flattered the people, and had risen through their favour; but he wanted the art which enabled Cæsar permanently to enchain their affections, so that he could look down on their transient caprices with indifference; as for instance, when, in the time of his Consulship, Bibulus withdrew, and the tide of popular favour for a moment turned against him.¹

¹ *Ep.* 45, 1.
(*Att.* ii. 19.)

Pompeius at this juncture had his old enemy Crassus and the Tribune C. Cato against him, and it is not improbable that they and their adherents sought to disunite him from Cicero², his alliance with whom might seem dangerous to the opponents of the Optimates. The conqueror of Mithridates now saw himself compelled to bring his country partizans into the city to ensure his personal safety. He complained to Cicero that "his life was threatened, that C. Cato was supported, and Clodius bribed, by Crassus, and that both were encouraged by him and Bibulus, as well as by Curio and his other calumniators. It behoved him to take care that he was not utterly ruined, for the common people were almost entirely alienated from him, the Senate unfavourable, and the young men reckless."³ Cicero was right when he exclaimed in a letter to his brother, "Pompeius is no longer the same man."⁴ How little he now expected from him is apparent from his confidential words in another

² *Ep.* 99, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 3.)

³ *Ep.* 99, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 3.)

⁴ *Ep.* 104, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 6.)

letter to him.* “I did not go into the Senate” (after the scandalous events consequent on the process of Milo), “for I could not be silent on so grave a subject, and I feared to offend the well disposed by advocating the cause of Pompeius, who was attacked by Bibulus, by Curio, Favonius, and Servilius the younger.”

We are tempted to believe that Cæsar fomented these disputes at a distance†; there can be no doubt that they fell in with his own desires. Pompeius was well aware of this, and his uneasiness and jealousy increased with the acclamations which hailed the successive accounts of his exploits.¹ Time was when he had himself reigned alone in the applause of his countrymen. Under the influence of such feelings, a change of relations came to pass which just before had seemed in the highest degree improbable: a close alliance was formed between himself and Crassus, and they made common cause together, without however any formal rupture with Cæsar. The first object they proposed to themselves was the joint attainment of the Consulate for the ensuing year. Clodius, who hoped by serving Pompeius to secure his future favour, once more shifted sides, as did the Tribune Cato, and joined their party.²

The Consuls of the year 698, Lentulus Marcellinus and Marcius Philippus, were excellent men, nor was it their fault if the authority of the Senate and Optimates was not effectually maintained.³ They resisted to the utmost of their ability the unconstitutional attempts of C. Cato, who was now a devoted partizan of the Triumvirs, as well as the extraordinary measures proposed for augmenting Cæsar's

¹ Dio. Cass. xxxix. 25.

² Dio Cass. xxxix. 26. 29.; comp. Ep. 120, 2. (Qu. fr. ii. 9.)

³ Ep. 104, 4. (Qu. fr. ii. 6.)

* Ep. 99, 2. (Qu. fr. ii. 3.) This letter is remarkable for the lively picture it gives us of the proceedings of the popular assemblies at that time.

† Dio says (xxxix. 23.), “Cæsar, although absent, supported Clodius in his fury against M. Cato, and furnished him, as some say, with charges.”

power.* Marcellinus handled Pompeius so roughly as to wound Cicero's feelings. Had the Consuls of the succeeding year proved equally zealous, and been vigorously supported by the Optimates, the Senate might yet have succeeded in taking and keeping a strong position against the Triumvirs.

The principal candidate for the Consulate in the year 699 was Domitius Ahenobarbus, a member of an old and distinguished patrician house, and a decided aristocrat. But his election was not desired by Pompeius, who though an enemy to democratic power was no friend to an oligarchy of which he was not himself the leader; nor would Cæsar permit the advancement of a man, who had once rashly threatened that the first act of his Consulate should be to recall him from his government.¹ To the avaricious Crassus, a state of affairs which tended towards the restoration of the ancient order and discipline was anything but desirable; and thus the three colleagues, impelled by different motives, combined to oppose Domitius as their common enemy.²

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 24.

² *Ep.* 117. (*Att.* iv. 8.)

At Lucca, whither Cæsar repaired from Transalpine Gaul, the Triumvirs met and concerted measures for crushing him, and forcing him to leave the field to Pompeius and Crassus.† Cæsar could not hinder his colleagues from obtaining their object, which they sought with the view of emulating his greatness; nay, he had still so much to demand from the next year's Consuls, that he was actually constrained to further their designs. The comitia

* *Monstra de Cæsare.*

† How eagerly men of rank and distinction crowded about the Triumvirs, appears from the statement of Plutarch (*Cæs.* 21.), that so many official personages were seen at Lucca, that 120 lictors might be counted there together. At the same time there were present more than 200 senators. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 17.

now violently interrupted, and their proceedings obstructed, in order that, the year having expired, the appointment of Consuls might devolve upon an inter-

The Tribune Cato rendered effectual assistance in the transaction¹, and Cæsar sent his legate Publius, the son of Crassus, with an armed force to support his associates. Lucius Cellinus could make no resistance. The Senate put off mourning, and during the remainder of the year no member of the Patrician party made his appearance in Curia.² But all was in vain. In the beginning of

¹ Dio. Cass. xxxix. 27 ; comp. Appian, B. C. ii. 17.

² Dio. Cass. xxxix. 28. 31.

Pompeius and Crassus were elected Consuls by acclamation. The positions which Cæsar and Pompeius at that time respectively occupied, rendered it necessary that each should promote the interests of the other; the only question was, which of them should first reach the summit; which should most clearly perceive and most promptly seize the fortunate moment.³ Pompeius when asked by

³ Dio. Cass. xxxix. 33. foll.

Lucius Cellinus at the end of the previous year, whether he was earnest in suing for the Consulship, had replied: "I do not want it for the sake of those citizens who love order and moderation; but on account of the restless spirits in the State, I desire it with my whole heart."⁴ In this we

⁴ Dio. Cass. xxxix. 30.

shall not accuse him of falsehood; for history is not without examples of blind ambition going hand in hand with conviction of patriotism. But Pompeius had a very distinct notion of what the State required, and was early deceived as to his own strength. Cæsar laboured under no such delusion; and in the attainment of his ambitious ends would have saved at the same time the Roman world, had not a rash deed prematurely cut him off.

For truly the condition of Rome was at this period speakably wretched. The people were led astray, and their interests abused by their representatives; by those who

should have protected their just rights, but who were now fallen into the hands of the chiefs, and were tools of their power, which increased every year. The Optimates, unmindful of their honourable name, were governed by their own selfish interests, and acted without concert or system.* The Senate was broken up into parties; and a Consul really worthy of his office, proved nevertheless unable to maintain law and order.

¹ *Ep.* 109, 1.
(*Att.* iv. 6.)

To return to Cicero: writing at this time to Atticus¹, with reference to the death of Lentulus†, he says: “He loved his country so well, that his being snatched from its conflagration seems a special favour of the Gods; for what is more degrading than our life? than mine especially? If I speak as duty urges me on public matters, I am esteemed a madman; if as circumstances constrain me, a slave; while if I keep silence, I am said to be in durance; and I am the more grieved at this, because I cannot complain for fear of being called ungrateful.” We cannot be surprised to find him exclaiming in a letter to Atticus, some months before the election of the new Consuls²: “Farewell to the principles of justice, truth, and goodness! The falseness of those Optimates transcends all belief; for Optimates they profess to be, and would be were there any faith in them.” And again: “As those who are not in power refuse to love me, I will cultivate the regard of such as are.”

² *Ep.* 106.
(*Att.* iv. 5.)

Cicero had Cæsar more especially in his thoughts when he wrote this. He had just composed what he calls a *Palinodia* in his honour. It was very evident to him that his own idea of the Republic could not be maintained

* See Cicero's complaints against the Optimates, *Epp.* 106, 1.; 113. (*Att.* iv. 6.; *Div.* i. 7.)

† Not the Proconsul of Cilicia; the personage here mentioned was Flamen of Mars.

against the power of the Triumvirs, and the violence of the age; he saw how ineffectual was the support on which he could reckon from the so-called Optimates; and his feelings were somewhat irritated against them moreover at present, on account of the inadequate compensation they had accorded for his loss of property. Nor could he honestly help feeling that he was alone far too weak to maintain himself in opposition to the chiefs. The letter we have been quoting from is a remarkable one; but we must not conclude that Cicero had finally abandoned the maxims which had governed his conduct in early life, and which were deeply engrafted on his nature. Time and circumstances were now at variance with them, and his susceptible and highly irritable temperament renders it easy to account for the contradictory tone of many passages in his correspondence. The following extract from a letter to the Proconsul Lentulus¹, displays all the characteristics of its writer, particularly where he speaks of politics, and at the same time discovers the dawn of a sentiment which exercised a decided influence over his whole life, and was destined to bring about its catastrophe: "You are aware how difficult it is to lay aside the opinion one has formed upon public affairs, especially when it is well grounded. Nevertheless, I conform myself to the wishes of him whom I cannot with honour oppose: and I do this with no insincerity, as some may suppose, for so powerfully is my mind attracted towards Pompeius, so strong, I may say, is my passion for him, that all that is profitable to him and agreeable to his wishes appears just and right in my eyes." *

¹ *Ep.* 125, 2.
(*Div.* i. 8.)

* These expressions may surprise us, when we remember the numerous passages in Cicero's letters in which he laments the weaknesses of Pompeius. Sanguine temperaments do not suffer themselves so easily to abandon objects of their affection, even when they perceive weaknesses in

However contrary such a course may have been to his genuine feelings, Cicero adhered to the resolution he had taken, and continued his double allegiance to Cæsar and Pompeius. He had soon occasion to testify his devotion to them. The law for the allocation of lands in Campania had not yet been carried in all its clauses; for part of the land to be distributed was in the hands of private individuals, and it was a matter of difficulty to obtain a sum of money from the State treasury sufficient to purchase it from the proprietors. In December, 697, the Tribune

¹ *Ep.* 90, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 1.)

Lupus had spoken against the law¹, and in the following April there was a sharp debate on the subject in the

² *Ep.* 103, 2.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 5.)

Senate², on the same day that the forty million sesterces had been voted to Pompeius as manager of the supplies.

Cicero, who was adverse to the law, proposed that it should be brought again before the Senate on the 15th of May; imagining that after such an outlay it would be certainly rejected.³

³ *Ep.* 148, 3.
(*Div.* i. 9.)

Pompeius and Cæsar however, who had just had their meeting at Lucca, were dissatisfied with this proceeding: and the former having occasion to go into Africa on the business of the supplies, paid a visit to Quintus in Sardinia on his way, and reminded him of his pledge that Marcus Cicero, in case he were recalled from banishment, would attempt nothing contrary to the in-

them. Those lamentations were indeed themselves immoderate, and even in them we may recognize Cicero's love for Pompeius. [It will be observed that the author constantly speaks of the *affection* Cicero bore Pompeius. Yet it must be remembered that already, in the earlier part of this correspondence, Cicero had bitterly denounced his vanity, ambition, selfishness and hypocrisy; we shall find, at a later period, that he further charges him with the most flagrant disloyalty to the Commonwealth. It is a proof of the exceeding fickleness of Cicero's feelings and judgments that he still allows himself, upon any show of favour from the great man, to warm into expressions of personal regard; but I cannot recognize throughout his letters any calm and consistent affection for the object of these capricious effusions]

terests of the Triumvirs.* Upon this Quintus wrote to his brother, who now perceived how hazardous was the step he was about to take. He remembered the conflict his mind had undergone, when on a former occasion he had wavered between the Triumvirs and their opponents: he reflected how little the support of the latter could be relied upon: and the motion about the Agrarian law was dropped.†

That Cicero should find it impossible to recover his former authority, however much he desired it, was under these circumstances natural enough; equally natural was it, that he did not entirely withdraw from public life in consequence. The legal business of the Forum still furnished him the means of recovering and retaining the favour of the people. Here he had the field to himself. Cæsar and Pompeius found it even conducive to their interests, that the man through whom they had gained their objects should possess the esteem of the populace. It seems they applauded him when he carried into effect his intimation to his brother¹: “I willingly withdraw from the Curia, and all business of the State, but before the tribunals I am still what I was.”^{1 Ep. 104 (Qu. fr. ii. 6.)}

* How effective this pledge of Quintus's was towards his brother's recall we may judge from *Ep.* 99, 8. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 3.)

† The circumstances and the corresponding letter are, as it seems to me, thus best arranged. On April 5. Cicero made his motion about the Agrarian law; this offended Pompeius, who conferred about it with Cæsar at Lucca, and again with Quintus in Sardinia. Quintus thereupon wrote to his brother and changed his note. Under this altered aspect of affairs Cicero proceeded to write that remarkable letter to Atticus, *Ep.* 106. (*Att.* 5.); which accordingly, if my view is correct, cannot be of so early a date as April 10., which is assigned to it, but must have been written somewhat later. A careful perusal of Cicero's letters makes one often suspect that the dates assigned them cannot be quite accurate, and that they stand in need of a revision. We meet with proceedings about the Agrarian law at a still later period. *Ep.* 225. (*Div.* viii. 10.), A. U. 703.

The most important oration which Cicero delivered in the year 698, was his speech for the late Tribune P. Sestius, who had done so much towards his recall. When in the commencement of the preceding year, while the decree for his restoration was still pending, Clodius with his hired rabble and gladiators had converted the Forum into a field of battle, in order to prevent its passing, Sestius and Milo found themselves compelled to repel force by force, and hired gladiators of their own to oppose those of Clodius. Many were the fierce and bloody encounters which ensued; and now, at the instigation of Clodius, Sestius was arraigned by M. Tullius Albinovanus before the Prætor M. Æmilius Scaurus, on the 10th of February, on a charge of riot.* Cicero undertook his defence, and Hortensius spoke also in his behalf, and he was acquitted on the 13th of March. Cicero was actuated by sincere affection and gratitude, and wished besides to put down the cavils of his maligners, who called him ungrateful. In this speech, he described in lively terms the whole course of Clodius's hostilities against him, and his own banishment and restoration: it is further remarkable as expressing his political principles, and his view of the character of the true Optimate. It does him the more honour, inasmuch as Sestius, who was a man of a gloomy and wayward disposition, seems often to have given him cause for complaint.¹ Cicero's speech against Vatinius, who had made himself notorious during the Consulate of Cæsar, and now appeared as a witness against Sestius, formed an interlude in the process.² The orator com-

¹ *Ep.* 102, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 4.)

² *Ep.* 102, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 4.)

* *Ep.* 99, 5. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 3.) By the *lex Lutatia de Vi* Sestius was at the same time accused of ambitus by Cn. Nerius. [The law of Q. Lutatius Catulus *de Vi*, that is against those who occupied public places and carried arms (A. U. 676), was perhaps a renewal or confirmation of an existing law *Plotia*. *Cic. Att.* ii. 24.; *pro Cæl.* 29.; *pro Mil.* 13.; *de Har. resp.* 8.; *Sall. Catil.* 31. But see Fischer, *Römische Zeittafeln* (A. U. 676).]

pletely crushed him amidst the applause of his audience; at the same time he expressed himself with great freedom about Cæsar and his associates.*

Before this, on the 11th of February (in a speech no longer extant), he defended L. Bestia, who was accused before the Prætor Cn. Domitius of bribery in his suit for the Prætorship. He thus laid, as he said, a good foundation for his subsequent defence of Sestius¹; but he was not successful in the attainment of his immediate object.† He was more fortunate in his defence of L. Cornelius Balbus, the Gaditane, who stood very high in Cæsar's favour, was now serving under him in Gaul, and afterwards became the manager of his household. The accuser disputed the franchise accorded to him. Cicero also successfully defended his friend, M. Cælius, accused of poisoning the notorious sister of Clodius, and of intending to assassinate the Alexandrian ambassador, Dio; these charges were brought against him, under the Lutatian law *de Vi*, by Atratinus, whose father he had himself once brought to justice.‡

¹ *Ep.* 93, 7.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 3.)

* We possess this speech too, under the name of *Interrogatio*, "Questions put to Vatinius." Cicero himself describes it, *Ep.* 148, 3. (*Div.* i. 9.) *Tota vero interrogatio mea nihil habuit nisi reprehensionem illius tribunatus; in quo omnia dicta sunt libertate, animoque maximo, de vi, de auspiciis, de donatione regnorum.*

† See *Philipp.* i. 5., where he alludes to the result of this trial. *Quid Bestiam? qui se consulatum in Bruti locum petere profitetur. Quam absurdum autem, qui prætor fieri non potuerit, eum petere consulatum! Nisi forte damnationem pro prætura putat.*

‡ I have refrained from citing here the speech *de Haruspicium responsis*, which, if it is really Cicero's, was delivered after those for Sestius and Cælius, and before those *de prov. Cons.* and for Balbus, on account of the strong evidence it bears of spuriousness. The occasion of the speech was this: when, in the year 698, a *prodigium* occurred in the Ager Latinensis, and the Haruspices pronounced their judgment that it pointed to the sin of erecting private dwellings on consecrated spots, the Ædile Clodius applied this immediately to Cicero's house; Cicero thereupon delivered the speech referred to.

The great orator's speech in the Senate, entitled "*de provinciis Consularibus*," is one of the highest importance. Therein he urges the recall of Gabinius and Piso, the Consuls of the year 696, from their respective governments of Syria and Macedonia. These provinces had been assigned them in virtue simply of an edict of Clodius, and not by a decree of the Senate, and they had governed them with gross injustice and rapacity. In the same speech he combats the proposition of the Senate to deprive Cæsar of one, if not both, of the two Gaulish provinces; for the rapidly increasing power of the great commander had begun to inspire that body with alarm, and many of the senators were for recalling him altogether. Cicero thus prepared the way for the law which Trebonius carried next year, decreeing him fresh supplies of money, and increasing the number of his legates.¹ His conduct in this transaction will not surprise us if we call to mind the letter before alluded to, in which he appears in a moment of excitement to abjure all his principles; but how ill at ease his conscience was is apparent from a letter to Lentulus², written probably in May of this year 698, in which he observes a marked silence respecting the part he had been taking for Cæsar in these proceedings. After the significant words, "This state of affairs does not please me," he continues, "I must admonish you of a truth which, though addicted from my youth to the noblest studies, I have learnt from experience rather than reading, — no man can retain his security if he loses, nor forfeit it if he retains, his dignity." Since he could not be a Cato, how much more wisely would he have acted, had he remained firm to this maxim! We find it consistent with the rest of his character that, in order to maintain his dignity and the renown of his former actions, he sought to exhibit himself in something

¹ *De Prov.*
Cons. 11.

² *Ep.* 113, 6.
(*Div.* i. 7.)

of a becoming lustre by the side of Pompeius and Cæsar. His anxiety on this head is shown in a letter to Luceius (probably in May 698), in which he urgently requests him to write the history of his life from the commencement of the Catilinarian conspiracy until his return from exile.¹ This letter, however we may be disposed to palliate particular expressions in consideration of the circumstances under which it was written, is a standing monument of his vanity and of the self-esteem which animated him, even at a time when his influence in the Republic had dwindled to a mere shadow. He thought highly of it himself, and in writing to Atticus mentions it with complacency as “a very fine composition.”*²

¹ *Ep.* 108.
(*Div.* v. 12.)

² *Ep.* 109, 3.
(*Att.* iv. 6.)

In reference to his domestic affairs, we find that in the spring of this year he gave his daughter Tullia in second marriage to Furius Crassipes, one of Cæsar’s adherents.³ The repose of which he stood so much in need at home, was continually disturbed by the family disputes between Terentia and his brother’s wife Pomponia, and this made him glad to remain at his country residences, where we find him in the months of April and May 698. At his paternal estate of Antium he enjoyed an interval of agreeable leisure, during which he occupied himself with his library.⁴

³ *Epp.* 102, 4.;
104, 1. (*Qu.*
fr. ii. 4. 6.)

⁴ *Ep.* 105, 3.
(*Att.* iv. 11.)

* [One passage at least in this letter ought to be quoted; the reader must judge for himself how far it is susceptible of excuse. *Neque tamen ignoro quam impudenter faciam, qui primum tibi tantum oneris imponam (potest enim mihi denegare occupatio tua) deinde etiam, ut ornes me, postulem. Quid si illa tibi non tantopere videntur ornanda? Sed tamen qui semel recundiae fines transierit, eum bene et naviter oportet esse imprudentem. Itaque te plane etiam atque etiam rogo, ut ornes ea, vehementius etiam quam fortasse sentis, et in eo leges historiae negligas: gratiamque illam, de qua antissime quodam in proæmio scripsisti, a qua te affici non magis potuisse demonstras quam Herculem Xenophontium illum a voluptate: si me tibi vehementius commendabit ne aspernere; amorique nostro plusculum etiam quam concedit veritas, largiare.]*

Quintus Cicero, since the completion of his business in Sardinia, had been living partly at Rome and partly on his estates till the year 700, when he was summoned to Gaul by Cæsar, to act as his legate. Atticus had returned to Italy about the end of January¹, and took up his residence in Rome, where Cicero frequently addressed him during his own sojourn in the country. In February Atticus was married to Pilia, by whom he had a daughter Attica, or Pomponia, who subsequently became the wife of the celebrated Agrippa.*

We possess twelve letters of the year 699, in which Pompeius and Crassus were Consuls for the second time.† During this period Cicero adhered firmly to the resolution he had formed of offering no resistance to the Triumvirs, but yielding passively to the stream of events. Resistance, indeed, would have availed little at a time when, as he himself writes to his brother, the Consuls, together with Cæsar, had everything in their own power.² But deeply must he and the whole Senate have been pained when Afranius brought about a decree encouraging ambitus, in consequence of which the Prætorships of this year could be filled by the mere arbitrary will of those who now held sway‡; and Cato was excluded from that office, to which he had been previously invited§, in order that it might

* Attica and Agrippa had a daughter, Vipsania Agrippina, who was the first wife of the Emperor Tiberius, and became the mother of Drusus.

† Viz., five to Atticus, two to Quintus, to F. Gallius and Marius one each; the single one to Lentulus is very important. The two which remain are letters of recommendation.

‡ Ep. 120, 3. (Qu. fr. ii. 9.) Manutius (*in loc.*) explains the object of the law, *Ne qui præturam per ambitum cepisset, ei propterea fraudi esset* [referring to Plut. *Cat. min.* 42. and *Pomp.* 52. The letter itself gives no intimation about it.]

§ It was offered to him, on his return from Cyprus, to protect him from being called to account for his conduct there: he however rejected Plut. *Cat. min.* 39.; Val. Max. iv. 1. 14. [The words of Val. Max. are

¹ Ep. 98.
(Att. iv. 4.)

² Ep. 120, 3.
(Qu. fr. ii. 9.)

be bestowed on the contemptible Vatinius. Though, in attaching himself unreservedly to Pompeius, Cicero may have followed the dictates of his heart, we cannot doubt that the following words, in a letter to Lentulus, express the genuine state of his feelings at the present juncture: "The principles by which I guided myself when I was in possession of the highest honours and had accomplished the greatest undertakings, dignity in my speeches as a senator, independence in administering the general interests, all are past and gone! But not for me more than for others. I must either echo, without influence myself, the decrees of individuals, or place myself in unavailing opposition. The spirit of the Senate, of the tribunals, of the whole State, is altogether changed. No senator who is faithful to his principles, can now hope to obtain the Consular dignity.¹

¹ *Ep.* 125, 2.
(*Div.* i. 8.)

The truth of this statement became evident when, in accordance with the treaty which had been entered into at Lucca between Pompeius and Crassus, the Tribune Trebonius passed an edict giving to the latter the province of Syria and to the former Spain and Africa, both for five years, and with extended powers. At the same time, to appease Cæsar, his proconsular authority in Gaul was

Cypriacam pecuniam maxima cum diligentia et sanctitate in urbem deportaverit. Cujus ministerii gratia Senatus relationem interponi jubebat ut pratoriis comitiis extra ordinem ratio ejus haberetur (before the legitimate age, i. e. æt. 40. Cato, born A. U. 659, was 39 in 698, but was of legitimate age the year following.) *Sed ipse id fieri passus non est, iniquum id fieri esse affirmans, quod nulli alii tribueretur, sibi decerni.* Instead of saying the Praetorship was offered to Cato, the writer should have specified that the Senate proposed to make a decree in his favour releasing him from the restrictions of the *lex Annalis*. He must still have sued for the suffrages of the tribes. The object of this intended favour is probably divined rightly by Abeken. Cato had accidentally lost the accounts of his money transactions in Cyprus, and it was known that Clodius was watching an opportunity to fasten upon him a charge of malversation in his province.]

prolonged for another five years, chiefly through the influence of the Consuls. In vain did Cato and others, who endeavoured to uphold the sinking State, oppose these measures; and equally fruitless were Cicero's efforts to dissuade Pompeius from so largely augmenting his rival's power.*¹

¹ *Phil.* ii. 10.;
Suet. *Cæs.* 24.;
Dio Cass.
xxxix. 33.

Cicero may have derived some consolation in this state of affairs from the confidence shown him by Pompeius, who visited him in April at his villa at Cumæ, behaved in the most friendly manner to him, conversed at length on the Commonwealth, spoke of his desire to obtain Spain for his province, and did not conceal his dissatisfaction with his own conduct.² All this *might* be true, but Cicero put no faith in such declarations; he elsewhere complains of his reserve and reticence.³ He found a more effectual solace in the retirement of his villas, and in his much loved studies, which, as he writes to Atticus, were always a refreshment and support to him.⁴ In another letter to the same friend, speaking of his pleasure in the society of the learned Dionysius †, he says: "There is nothing more

² *Epp.* 118,
4.; 119, 1.
(*Att.* iv. 10.
9.)

³ *Ep.* 100, 2.
(*Div.* i. 5.)

⁴ *Ep.* 118, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 10.)

* Perhaps Cicero speaks in *Ep.* 129. (*Att.* iv. 13.) of the proceedings (*altercationes*) in the Senate, upon the question of this increase of Cæsar's power. This letter is written from Tusculum. [Schütz assigns for its date the close of Nov. 698 (699). Crassus had just left Rome for the East, before the completion of his year of office. *Crassum quidem nostrum minore dignitate aiunt profectum paludatum quam olim æqualem ejus L. Paulum, iterum consulem. O hominem nequam.* For the circumstances see the historians. Plut. *Crass.* 16.; Dio Cass. xxxix. 39.]

† Dionysius was a freedman of Atticus, [particularly skilful in the binding and decoration of books, for which Atticus had lent his services to Cicero. *Ep.* 106. (*Att.* iv. 5.) *Bibliothecam mihi tui pinxerunt constructione et sillibus.* *Ep.* 111. (*Att.* iv. 8.) *postea vero quam. Tyrannio mihi libros disposuit, mens addita videtur meis ædibus: qua quidem in re mirifica opera Dionysii et Menophili tui fuit.* Dionysius was also an admirable scholar. *Ep.* 122. (*Att.* iv. 11.) *Nos hic voramus literas cum homine mirifico Dionysio.* Cicero had also a slave of this name.]

delightful than to know everything.”¹ He spent this spring¹ *Ep. 122.*
 at his villas at Cumæ and Naples, where he was within *(Att. iv. 11.)*
 reach of the noble library of Faustus Sulla, whose father,
 the Dictator, had brought most of it from Athens as the
 spoils of war²: he had also for a neighbour a friend named² *Ep. 118, 2.*
 Marius, a man of wit and spirit, of whom he was extremely *(Att. iv. 10.)*
 fond³, and it is pleasant at this time to hear him³ *Ep. 121, 2.*
 giving utterance to light-hearted jokes. At the close of *(Qu. fr. ii. 10.)*
 November, while parties were hotly disputing in the
 Senate, he writes from Tusculum to Atticus that he had
 been working diligently on the books *De Oratore*.⁴ The⁴ *Ep. 129, 2.*
 following words, written to the same friend in April, *(Att. iv. 13.);*
 spring directly from his heart: “I had rather seat my- *comp. 148, 8.*
 self on your little bench under the bust of Aristotle, than *(Div. i. 9.)*
 in the Curule chair of our rulers; and I had rather walk
 up and down with you in your hall, than in the company
 of him [Pompeius] with whom I shall soon find myself
 obliged to walk.”⁵

⁵ *Ep. 118, 2.*
(Att. iv. 10.)

He derived his chief pleasure from literary labours,
 such as the work above mentioned*; for at this time, as
 he writes after his defence of Gallus Caninius†, even
 forensic speeches were distasteful to him. This last-
 named oration was delivered on the day when Pompeius,
 who had before entertained the people with gladiators,
 gave the celebrated games at the dedication of his mag-
 nificent theatre, and the temple connected with it, to
 Venus Victrix. Very characteristic is the letter in which
 Cicero gives an account to his friend Marius⁶ of these
 games, the most costly and splendid, he says, which had⁶ *Ep. 126.*
(Div. vii. 1.);
comp. in Pi-
son. 27.

* It was possibly at this period also that Cicero composed his poem *De Temporibus suis*, which has not come down to us. *Epp. 120. (Qu. fr. ii. 1.); 117. (Att. iv. 8.); comp. Ep. 148. (Div. i. 9.)*

† *Ep. 126. (Div. vii. 1.)* Gallus Caninius was Tribune in the year 698, and in the contest about the restoration of Ptolemæus had shown great zeal for Pompeius. *Ep. 97. (Qu. fr. ii. 2.)*

ever been witnessed. It shows how far he stood in learning and moral cultivation above the age and country in which he lived.*

To this year belongs one of the most important of his orations now extant, that against Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, under whose Consulate he had been banished. He had previously, in his speech on the Consular provinces, opposed Piso's longer continuance in the province of Macedonia, which was suffering from his misgovernment. And now Piso had returned in secret to Rome, flying from his disorderly and ill-managed army.¹ Unbending and arrogant, confiding in the protection of his powerful son-in-law, he made his appearance in the Senate; he insulted Cicero, who had ventured to utter reproaches against him, and who now in return for his insults gave vent to his hatred and indignation in a speech which, it must be confessed, was hardly worthy of his own dignity, comparing his Consulate with that of his opponent, their respective departures from the city and returns to it, and the general course of their lives and actions.†

During this year, Gabinius, Piso's colleague in the Consulship, on his own responsibility and by force of arms,

* [*Qui ne id quidem leporis habuerint quod solent mediocres ludi. Apparatus enim spectatio omnem tollit hilaritatem quid enim delectationis habent sexcenti muli in Clytemnæstra? aut in equo Trojano craterarum tria millia? quæ popularem admirationem habuerunt, delectationem tibi nullam attulissent, &c.* Billerbeck suggests that this disparagement of the show is assumed to console his correspondent Marius, who from the weakness of his health could not come to the amphitheatre.]

† This speech was delivered shortly before the celebration of the Games. Asconius in *Orat. c. Pison.* In the period embraced by our fifth section Cicero made two other speeches; one on the affair of King Ptolemæus, of which some fragments, together with a mutilated commentary, have been lately made known by Mai (see *De Republ.* ed. Halle, 1824, p. 516. foll.); the other for Cispius, which must have been at this time, Cicero himself mentions, *pro Planc.* 31.

¹ *In Pison.*
26.

reseat Ptolemæus on his throne¹, for which enterprise¹ Ep. 118, 1.
(Att. iv. 10.) he was menaced with a rigorous prosecution at Rome.

Two months before the year closed, the term of Gabinius's Proconsulate having expired, the rapacious Crassus hastened to his wealthy province of Syria.*² His opponents, and chiefly certain of the Tribunes, placed all possible impediments in his way; none were so urgent as Ateius in seeking to hinder his departure by alarming him with frightful prognostics. But Crassus disregarded all their efforts, and gloomy denunciations attended him as he set forth upon his journey.³ Cicero, writing somewhat later to Lentulus⁴, states that Crassus went almost directly from his own house (*i. e.* the gardens of his son-in-law Crassipes, where he had been supping in company with Cicero) to his province, which might serve as a proof to the citizens of their mutual reconciliation. For the enmity formerly subsisting between Cicero and Crassus on account of the Catilinarian conspiracy, which had afterwards been healed over⁵, had broken out afresh during the affair of Gabinius.† Now, however, a good understanding with Pompeius and Cæsar was important to Cicero; and Pompeius urged him to reconcile himself with the third Triumvir, whilst Cæsar also in his letters expressed his regret at their continued hostility. Cicero resolved accordingly to comply with the wishes of his powerful friends; notwithstanding which, we find him designating Crassus as a "good-for-nothing fellow" in writing to Atticus shortly after his departure.⁶ So much

³ Dio Cass. xxxix. 39.;
App. B. C. ii. 18.; comp.
Ep. 129.

⁴ Ep. 148.
(Div. i. 9.)

⁵ Ep. 19, 5.
(Att. i. 14.)

⁶ Epp. 129,
1.; 148, 6.
(Att. iv. 13.;
Div. i. 9.)

* Gabinius refused, at first, to deliver up the province to the legate whom Crassus sent to demand it. He afterwards changed his mind, and appeared humbly at Rome the next year. Dio Cass. xxxix. 60. 62.

† When the affair of Piso and Gabinius was discussed in the Senate, and Cicero (*de prov. Cons.*) urged their recall, Crassus, who had spoken some days before against Gabinius, took once more the part of the Proconsul, to Cicero's prejudice. Ep. 148, 6. (Div. i. 9.)

for political friendships! As for Pompeius, his interests pointed to a very different course from that of his colleague. Far from wishing to betake himself to his province, whither he despatched a legate to act in his stead, he was only too glad that the duty of superintending the supplies of corn gave him a pretext for remaining in Italy.

The election of the Consuls for the ensuing year had been deferred to the close of the present, doubtless, through the intrigues of the Triumvirs. They were unable, however, to hinder the choice of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had been forced at the last election to give way to Pompeius and Crassus; and this was another reason why Pompeius found it desirable to remain in Rome. Appius Claudius Pulcher, a brother of the infamous Clodius and a connexion* of Pompeius, was selected as his colleague.¹

¹ Dio. Cass.
xxxix. 60.

THE YEAR 700.

It may have been partly prudence which impelled Cicero, in the existing situation of the State, to look round for some stay to rest upon; for his letters frequently express his conviction that Rome can subsist no longer. His affection for his brother, who had become a devoted adherent of Cæsar, may have had its weight also; but most assuredly paramount to every other motive, it was the recognition of a loftier spirit which induced him to throw himself into the great man's arms, and which dictated the following expressions in a letter to Quintus²: "You act like a true

² Ep. 140, 1.
(Qu. fr. ii.
15.)

* [The connexion was remote. Appius Claudius (the elder) married a Cæcilia Metella, and his sons were Appius and Publius, the Tribune. Another Cæcilia, married to Scaurus, was mother of Æmilia, second wife to Pompeius.]

brother in exhorting me to this course [to seek Cæsar's friendship]: but you urge one who is already straining every nerve in that direction. Perhaps I may succeed at last, like eager travellers, who if they chance to have overslept themselves, make such exertions to repair their error, that they reach their journey's end sooner than if they had travelled all night. Thus, if in spite of your frequent exhortations I have hitherto slumbered instead of using my endeavours to cultivate this man's good will, I will now atone for my tardiness by redoubled diligence." This resolution on Cicero's part could not fail to mature Cæsar's friendly disposition towards both him and his brother. Quintus had been attached to him from an earlier period. He had been won over to his interests as far back as the time of Marcus Cicero's Consulate, when Cæsar had voted for more lenient measures against the Catilinarians, and through the intervention of Pompeius he had given security for Marcus.¹ The great commander had recently offered him the post of legate, upon which he entered in the spring of the present year, greatly to his patron's satisfaction, as we find from several of Cicero's letters. The principal cause of Cæsar's pleasure was, doubtless, the prospect of gaining the adhesion of the elder brother through the influence of the younger. Balbus, who acted for him in Rome, had informed him of the favourable disposition of the two Ciceros, and of Quintus's resolution to repair to him, and with his despatch containing this intelligence he sent one from Marcus himself; but the bag in which they were enclosed, was wetted through before it reached Cæsar; so that all he could decypher was the agreeable information respecting the brothers contained in the letter of Balbus. He writes in answer², "I see you have written something about Cicero, which I could not

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 14.; *Ep.* 148, 3. (*Div.* i. 9.)

² *Ep.* 132. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 12.)

make out. But as far as I can discover from conjecture, it appears to be something that I had imagined was much more matter of desire than of expectation." From this time he wrote frequently to Cicero, and his letters were full of friendly interest and regard.¹ He assures him that, "however he may be disposed to grieve at his separation from his brother, and to long for his society, he shall have cause to rejoice at his being with Cæsar rather than with any one else."

¹ *Ep.* 140.
(*Qu. fr.* ii.
15.)

The policy, if such it was, which induced Cicero to attach himself more closely to Cæsar, was sound and well considered. Towards the close of the year he writes thus to his brother²: "I earnestly beseech you in all your cares, labours, and wishes*, to remember the object we had in view when you went to join Cæsar. It was no trifling or ordinary gain we sought. For what must that advantage be for which our separation seemed not too dear a price? We sought to obtain, with the friendship of the best and most powerful of men, a firm support for our dignity, and our very existence in the State." Nor was it less wise and politic on Cæsar's part to gain over Cicero to his interests. In him he made conquest of the great Consular, the foremost among the Optimates in public estimation, formerly his opponent in the State, the reviler of his administration. Cicero's banishment had already shown the Optimates what they were to expect by continuing their opposition to Cæsar; his present treatment should show them what advantages they might reap by espousing his cause. The ambitious leader perceived moreover that it would enhance his credit in no small degree, to count among his adherents one whose house was still thronged with suitors, and whose appearance in

² *Ep.* 158.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
8.)

* Quintus had taken part in the campaign against the Britons.

the Forum and the Theatre was hailed with acclamations of applause.¹ That it was not, however, policy alone that prompted his advances to his new friend, was proved by his conduct towards him at a later period, when he found himself Dictator, and Cicero had lost every remnant of his influence. We do not need Cicero's rhetorical defence of himself in his letter addressed to Lentulus in Cilicia², ^{Ep. 141. (Div. xii. 15.)} to make us excuse his conduct on the present occasion: on the contrary, we fully agree with Wieland, in general no favourable observer of his weaknesses, when in commenting upon the letter to Quintus cited above, he says: "Had Cicero lived in the days of Scipio and Paulus Æmilius, there would have been no better patriot in the world than he. But could he at that period have been all that he was, coming into the world midway in the seventh century of Rome's existence? Where is the stoical barbarian, who would give up his writings that he might have been a more stouthearted and resolute defender of the Republic?" Of what avail was Cato's virtue? What hopes could Cicero repose in Pompeius, who five years before had suffered him to fall for Cæsar's gratification, and whose reputation was now so far eclipsed by that of his rival? We can hardly be wrong in thus interpreting a few words in a letter addressed to Quintus in February: "As for Pompeius, I cannot depend upon him alone, nor is he the man upon whom we can establish our fortunes; in this I agree with you, or rather I agree with my own inclination: for as you know, I have long sung Cæsar's song: he is seated in my heart, and there he shall remain."³ How far these last words were true as regarded the future, whether in fact Cæsar was able altogether to

¹ Ep. 134. (Qu. fr. ii. 13.); comp. Philipp. ii. 10.

* [*Nam ut scis jampridem istum canto Cæsarem.* "Cæsar has long been the hero of my song."]

efface from Cicero's mind the patrician principles which had grown with the formation of his character, or to overcome his strong natural bias in favour of Pompeius, the following history will in due course show.

The occurrences of this year were calculated to help in withdrawing Cicero from the cause of the Republic, and attaching him to Cæsar. We have often heard him at former periods lament over the ruin of the State; but never does he speak of it more frequently, or with more just cause, than in the present year; and what is worse, he speaks of it at times with a degree of coldness and indifference, which shows but too plainly that his sensibility was deadened by the daily spectacle of sorrow. The judicial tribunals were of the same sort as that which acquitted Clodius. The insolent Tribune C. Cato, arraigned on a charge of corruption, was pronounced innocent.¹ "We see," Cicero writes to his friend "our Areopagites look upon bribery, tumultuous Comitia, and an interregnum produced by crime and sedition, as mere trifles. The only thing we may not do, is to assassinate the head of a family in his own house; and even this is not very clearly established."* And again: "Since Cato is acquitted, what excesses will not a Tribune venture upon."² Corruption had reached the highest pitch that had ever yet been known. When the time drew near for the election of Consuls, ten million of sesterces were promised to the century which had to give the first vote.† In consequence

* This refers to the condemnation of one Procilius, who had committed this crime, or had attempted to do so, which was passed by a majority of only four voices.

† The century which voted first generally carried with it the rest. [Cic. *pro Planc.* 20. *Centuria prærogativa tantum habet auctoritatis, ut nemo unquam eam prior tulerit quin renuntiatus sit.* The order in which the centuries voted was decided by lot, and this remarkable influence exercised by the first voters is only to be accounted for from the habitual deference of the

¹ *Ep.* 142, 4.;
149, 3. (*Att.*
iv. 15, 16.)

² *Ep.* 156, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 17.)

of the enormous outlay, interest had risen from four to eight per cent.¹ The Consuls could do but little: Domitius indeed frequently asserted that he could not even create a military tribune²; we feel strongly disposed to excuse Cæsar and Pompeius for limiting their power. Appius, who as we have said was a brother of Clodius, was an avaricious man. When Cicero in the Senate opposed the petition of Antiochus king of Commagene, Appius became uneasy lest the revenue of February should fall short, if princes suffered such treatment*: and under this apprehension, having already become reconciled to Cicero, he now sought to bind him more closely to his interests.

¹ *Epp.* 141; 144, 2; 144, 7. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 15, 16.; *Att.* iv. 15.)
² *Epp.* 140. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 15.)

But the most disgraceful transaction of this year remains to be told. Four candidates had presented themselves for the ensuing Consulate: Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala, C. Memmius, and M. Æmilius Scaurus, the step-son of Sulla and brother-in-law of Pompeius, whose Quæstor he had been in Asia; the same man who in his Ædileship had expended such enormous sums in the public games.†⁴ The Plebeian Memmius was favoured by Cæsar; Scaurus, in the outset at least, by Pompeius.

³ *Epp.* 132, 1.; 148, 4. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 12.; *Div.* i. 9.)

⁴ *Pro Sest.* 54.
⁵ *Epp.* 142, 7.; 156, 2. (*Att.* iv. 15, 17.)

Romans to authority in their deliberative assemblies. Hence the importance attached to the distinction of being the first invited to speak in the Senate. Compare the fluctuations of opinion in the Senate on the great Catilinarian debate recorded by Sallust, and the rapid changes from the smallest minorities to the most overwhelming majorities, and *vice versa*, in the discussions on the recall of Cæsar from his province, Jan. 705.]

* In February the affairs of foreign states and potentates were discussed; and so many of these were dependent upon Rome, that the magistrates and chief men of the Senate derived great emoluments from this source.

† After his Prætorship Scaurus had been Proprætor in Sardinia, and was afterwards, when suing for the Consulship, accused of malversation. Cicero, Hortensius, and others defended him, and he was acquitted. We possess some fragments of Cicero's speech in the work of Asconius, and others have been since discovered by Mai.

Memmius and Domitius concluded a written compact with the Consuls in office (in the month of August or earlier), promising, in return for their assistance in the approaching election, that they would produce three Augurs, who should bear witness that a *Lex Curiata* had been issued, conferring on the aforesaid Consuls the imperium in the provinces assigned to them; and two Consulars also, who should assert that a decree had been passed in the Senate for the equipment of those provinces*, the whole being a fabrication; for on the day when this decree was said to have been passed, the Senate never assembled at all. The two candidates pledged themselves to pay the Consuls forty million sesterces if they failed to fulfil this engagement.¹ Memmius, at the instigation of Pompeius, laid the whole transaction before the Senate with proper proofs. Pompeius no doubt was glad to seize this opportunity of counteracting Cæsar's projects. He hated the Consul Domitius; and Appius, since he had attained that dignity, had not acted agreeably to his wishes.² He wished too that an interregnum might take place, and that he might be appointed Dictator. Scaurus he had quite abandoned.³ Cæsar, on the other hand, was greatly displeased with this proceeding on the part of Memmius⁴: if his own creature could thus act in order to gratify Pompeius, what advantages might not the latter seek to ensure from the present disorders, and the unprincipled conduct of the highest authorities? Memmius most certainly entertained serious thoughts of a Dictatorship; and whom could he think of

¹ *Ep.* 157, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 18.)

² *Dio Cass.*
xxxix. 60.

³ *Ep.* 158, 3.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
8.)

⁴ *Ep.* 149, 4.
(*Att.* iv. 16.)

* See p. 144. note. After the provinces were assigned and supplied [ornatæ] with officers, &c., the military imperium was conferred together with an army at the *Comitia Curiata*, which required the presence of Augurs. These *Comitia* were not held in the case of Domitius and Appius, the latter of whom wanted the province of Cilicia. *Epp.* 148, 12.; 149, 6.; 151, 2. (*Div.* i. 9.; *Att.* iv. 16.; *Qu. fr.* iii. 2.)

to fill the office but Pompeius? This would explain his motive for consenting to take a step which exhibited his own conduct in so bad a light, and must utterly have extinguished for him every hope of gaining the Consulship: for if Pompeius were once Dictator, the loss could be easily made up to him.*

Such was the behaviour of a Consul on whom, in the year 698, the Optimates had placed all their reliance, and who when driven from the chief magistracy to make room for Pompeius and Crassus, had appeared in their eyes to carry with him the very being of the old Republic. "The Consuls," writes Cicero to Atticus, "have lost their honour."†¹ "And now see," he adds in the same letter, "how tranquilly I regard these events; and how I rejoice in my close connexion with Cæsar; for that is the only plank on which I can save myself—would I might do so!—in this shipwreck."‡

But let no man imagine that he can with impunity abandon the post which has been assigned him in life, and turn traitor to himself for the sake of obtaining profit and security, or for the indulgence of angry feelings. Cicero had his own sacrifices to make in order to purchase that security which he describes thus exultingly to Quintus: "Next year will be one of complete repose to me: at all

* Memmius was, however, banished for bribery, and so was Scaurus, although Cicero had defended him. Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* iv. 1. 69.

† At an earlier period, in August, Cicero dared not trust to a letter to Atticus (142, 7.; *Att.* iv. 15.) the bargain between the Consuls and Memmius and Domitius: in November he related it without fear. Upon this bargain see also Montesquieu, *Considerations*, &c., c. 10.

‡ Compare also Cicero's judgment on this bargain, *Ep.* 146, 7. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1.) *ejusmodi pactiones, in ea coitione factæ sunt, ut nemo bonus interesse debuerit.* He was for Memmius and Messala, as we learn from the passage referred to. On the corruption at Rome at this time, see also Appian, *B. C.* ii. 19.

events I shall have nothing to fear. This is proved by the crowds which daily visit my house, and by the applause of the Forum and the Theatre. I am in no want of troops for my defence; moreover I possess the goodwill of Cæsar and Pompeius.”¹ Great indeed were the sacrifices involved in the maintenance of that principle of conduct which he defends in his long apologetic epistle to Lentulus. “Since the posture of affairs,” he there says, “and the disposition of the Optimates [towards me] have changed, I conceive that I also should no longer persist in my former opinions, but must fall in with the prevalent tone of the day. Distinguished men have never been praised for an obstinate determination to abide under all circumstances by the same principles of government. As in a shipwreck the master shows his skill by yielding to the storm, even though by so doing he should not reach the haven; and if the haven *can* be reached by a change of course, it would be absolute madness to choose to encounter danger rather than abandon it; so we, who all concur in making tranquillity combined with dignity the aim of our administration, should not be required to hold invariably the same language, as long as our endeavours are always directed to attain the same object.”² To another man the sacrifices we are about to mention would not have seemed great. To espouse this or that party, to accuse one man or defend another, was in Rome at this period only an affair of selfish calculation; but Cicero possessed what was at that time uncommon, a conscience; and however composedly he often speaks of his deviation from former principles, passages are not wanting in his letters where his higher nature breaks out, and we can perceive that the advantages upon which he congratulated himself proved deceitful, and not worth the sacrifices they involved. We are ready to make excuses for him, and to impute his errors to the age in which he

¹ *Ep.* 141.
(*Qu. fr.* ii.
15.)

² *Ep.* 148.
(*Div.* i. 9.)

lived; but we should also remember that *we* only sit in judgment, and that at a wide interval of time, and after the development of the great drama in which he played a part,—*he* on the other hand *felt*, and was thwarted and confined by the circumstances of the moment; and a great genius has well said, the mightiest Ruler is the Present Moment.

We have seen how Cicero became reconciled to Crassus, in order to gratify his powerful patron. This reconciliation he followed up by vigorously defending him against the Consuls, and several Consulars¹, apparently with the view of averting a sentence of recall which seemed likely to ensue from the sinister forebodings of the Tribune Ateius. Cicero subjected himself to a heavier reproach by defending Vatinius, the Tribune, against whom he had spoken so violently two years before, who had been an uncompromising supporter of the daring schemes of Cæsar's Consulate, and through the employment of bribery and the artifices of Pompeius, had obtained the Prætorship for which Cato had sued in vain.² Lentulus, it would seem, reproached Cicero in strong terms for undertaking to defend this man against the charge of corruption brought against him. Doubtless the mere reconciliation between them, after what had passed, was a pretty severe test of the statesman's altered principles. His undertaking his defence afterwards, at Cæsar's solicitation, followed as a natural consequence. In his apologetic letter to Lentulus, Cicero passes very lightly over the affair.³ "I entreat you," he says, "not to ask me why I have given testimony in favour of Vatinius, or of any one else*; that I may not have to ask you the same

¹ Ep. 131, 1.
(Div. v. 8.)

² Plut. Pomp.
152.

³ Ep. 148, 2.
(Div. i. 9.)

* Not only did Cicero defend Vatinius in a speech; he also came forward to speak to his character. *Vatinius scire te velle ostendis quibus rebus adductus defenderim et laudarim.* Ep. 148, 2. (Div. i. 9.) [Men of

question when you return, or even during your absence. For, only consider the sort of character for which you have taken the trouble of sending favourable evidence from the ends of the world. Do not be afraid of owning it, for I act in the same way and for the same description of persons, and so I shall continue to do. I besought the judges, since certain very worshipful people loved my enemy Clodius beyond measure, and embraced him affectionately in the Senate before my very eyes, to let me have my *Publius* also; that, when somewhat irritated myself, I might be able to give a slight sting in return.”¹ Such were the ways of the age and of the great men who lived in it!

¹ *Ep.* 148, 2.
(*Div.* i. 9.)

The defence of Gabinius was a heavier charge against Cicero than even that of Vatinius; and we may believe how dear this second sacrifice to Pompeius cost him, for he had told Quintus before, that a defence of Gabinius would entail upon him everlasting disgrace.² It would surely require a great stretch of charity to agree with Valerius Maximus³ in regarding his services in behalf of these two men as a striking example of placability and humanity. As far back as the month of February, the Publicans of the province of Syria had brought a grave accusation against Gabinius before the Senate⁴; and Cicero in his speech on the Consular provinces, had complained of the treatment these personages had received from him.⁵ No indictment ensued at that time, but the Tribunes of the people, Memmius in particular, threatened a speedy and more severe impeachment on the ground of Gabinius’s illegal conduct in his government.

² *Ep.* 153, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 4.)

³ *Val. Max.*
iv. 2. 4.

⁴ *Ep.* 134.
(*Qu. fr.* ii. 13.)

⁵ *De Prov.*
Cons. 5.

On the 20th September Gabinius arrived before the consideration used to come forward to give testimony in favour of (*laudare*) the accused, a practice which Pompeius forbade by an enactment in his sole Consulship, A. U. 701.]

gates of Rome; and on the 28th entered the city secretly and in the night, though on his road he had everywhere boasted that he would demand a triumph, and even while waiting without the gates continued to give vent to these aspirations.¹ Appearing in the Senate on the 7th October to render an account of his government and campaigns, (he seems by this time to have been persuaded that a triumph was out of the question), he immediately encountered a steady opposition from the Publicans. On Cicero's coming forward with a speech against him Gabinius called him in reply, "this exile." "Then," writes Cicero to his brother², "all the senators rose against him, as well as the Publicans, with loud exclamations—what could be more honourable to me?—and behaved just as you would have done yourself." Gabinius was awaited by three sets of accusers, and three separate accusations.³ The first was a charge of high treason, for having, unauthorized and for the sake of an enormous bribe, reseated Ptolemæus in his kingdom by force of arms. Lentulus was fixed upon to conduct this accusation; but he was not a man fitted to carry through such an affair, and it was asserted that he had been tampered with.⁴ Pompeius spared no pains to avert a condemnation: the judges were of the same stamp as those who had given sentence in the affair of Clodius: and the result was that Gabinius was condemned by thirty-two votes and acquitted by thirty-eight.⁵ "You see," writes Cicero to his brother⁶, "that there is no Commonwealth, no Senate left, no self-respect any longer existing among the Optimates." An hour after the acquittal of Gabinius, some other judges, indignant at the issue of the trial, sentenced one of his freedmen, named Antiochus Gabinius, to banishment from the city for having unlawfully assumed the rights of citizenship. Cicero, on his part, was satisfied with him-

¹ *Epp.* 146, 7, 9.; 151, 1. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1, 2.)

² *Ep.* 146, 7. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1.)

³ *Ep.* 146, 7. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1.)

⁴ *Ep.* 149, 5. (*Att.* iv. 16.)

⁵ *Ep.* 153, 1. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 4.); comp. 149, 5.

⁶ *Ep.* 153, 1. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 4.)

self, by reflecting that he had steadily resisted the demands of Pompeius to defend the accused, and had even given his own testimony strongly against him.¹

¹ *Epp.* 153, 1.; 159, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 4. 9.)

The well-disposed and those who were hostile to Gabinius, believed that this acquittal would the more certainly produce an adverse sentence in the two other processes with which he was threatened for bribery and peculation.²

Ep. 153, 1.

He had been impeached by P. Sulla for the first of these crimes before the sentence had passed which acquitted him of treason (*majestas*)*³; the transactions respecting the last had been delayed, owing to the illness of Cato, to whom, as Prætor, belonged the duty of presiding in the cause.⁴ This time justice won the day. Cæsar exerted himself in behalf of the criminal; Pompeius did all in his power to save him⁵, and even succeeded in persuading Cicero to come forward as his defender, notwithstanding the orator's previous boast that he would do nothing for Gabinius, even at the Triumvir's petition.⁶ All, however, was ineffectual; and Gabinius was condemned to banishment. At a later period, Cæsar recalled him.⁷

Ep. 152, 3.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 3.)

⁴ *Epp.* 146, 7.; 149, 4.;
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 1.; *Att.* iv. 16.)

⁵ *Epp.* 146, 7.; 149, 4.;
Dio Cass. xxxix. 63.

⁶ *Epp.* 146, 7.; 153, 1.;
Pro Rabir. Post. 12.; *Dio Cass.* l. 1.

⁷ *Dio Cass.* l. 1.

Such was the price at which Cicero had to purchase the protection of Pompeius and Cæsar! Did we not learn, from many passages in his letters, how painful these sacrifices were to him, and how sharp the stings of conscience in spite of all his attempts to excuse himself in the eyes of his friends, we should be almost tempted to believe that all sense of justice was extinguished in him. We have seen his remarks on the compact between the candidates and the Consuls. When the former were impeached for corruption, as well as the other two, Messala

* What was the result of the charge of bribery (*ambitus*) we do not find stated in Cicero. Dio always speaks of both charges together. St. Jerome has preserved a small fragment of Cicero's speech for Gabinius. (*Apol. adv. Ruff.*)

and Scaurus, Cicero, after relating the circumstance to his brother, adds: "It is a difficult affair, but I will do my best for our friend Messala: his escape will save the rest."¹

Cato stands out in a finer light in contrast with the depravity of the time. In a letter of Cicero's², immediately after a complaint about the prevalent corruption, we meet with the following information respecting him. Each of the candidates for the Tribune deposited the sum of 500,000 sesterces with him, which they were to forfeit if they used means which he should pronounce to be unlawful. "If," observes Cicero, "these elections should end without bribery, it must be confessed that a Cato can do more than all the laws and all the judges." Cato was Prætor this year: the same in which Ahenobarbus could so disgrace the Consulship! Cicero appears at this time to have withdrawn himself as much as possible from the meetings of the Senate. "I have resolved," he writes to Quintus, when absenting himself from an important discussion about the bribery of the year, "not to join in any attempt to find a remedy for the Republic without efficient protection and assistance."³ In the beginning of the year he gives his brother an account of a transaction relating to the king of Commagene, in which he took part, and which is interesting, as showing how these monarchs were treated by the Senate.*

Cicero employed himself all the more busily at this period with his forensic speeches. He writes thus to Quintus in October: "You must know that not a day

* *Ep.* 132. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 12.) Commagene was a small district of ancient Syria, the chief city of which was Samosata. When Pompeius constituted Syria a Roman province, Antiochus, the last of the Seleucidæ, received Commagene, with the title of king, under the Roman protection.

¹ *Ep.* 152, 1.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
3.)

passes in which I do not speak for some accused person.”¹ His defence of the Roman knight, C. Rabirius Postumus, may be regarded as a sequel to that of Gabinius. Rabirius was charged with having received a portion of the sum obtained by Gabinius for restoring Ptolemæus. Gabinius, being condemned, was not able to pay the fine, so Rabirius was sentenced to supply the deficiency.* Cicero’s speech on this occasion has come down to us. Besides this he defended Messius², a legate of Cæsar’s; the same who had endeavoured to procure so large an extension of Pompeius’s power in the business of the corn supplies. He defended Drusus also³; and his oration for Æmilius Scaurus has been mentioned above.† Now too he revised and published a speech made the preceding year in defence of Cn. Plancius, who as Quæstor of Macedonia had generously assisted him in his exile, and who was now accused of bribery in suing for the Ædileship. This admirable defence is the more creditable to Cicero, as Plancius had done but little for him in his Tribunate in 697.⁴

² *Ep.* 142, 7.
(*Att.* iv. 15.)

³ *Epp.* 144,
3; 149, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* ii.
16.; *Att.* iv.
16.)

⁴ *Ep.* 146, 4.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
1.); *Pro*
Planc. 32.

Towards the close of the year it appears that Cicero supported C. Pomptinius in an application for a triumph. Pomptinius had been Prætor in Cicero’s Consulate; the next year he had, as Proprætor, defeated the Allobroges; and up to the present time he had remained beyond the walls of Rome, vainly awaiting the reward of his services. At length, after much trouble, he obtained the coveted distinction, but could only celebrate his

* Both Gabinius and Rabirius were impeached by the *lex Julia de repetundis*, by which restitution could be required.

† See above, p. 164. note 2. Abeken. Drusus was accused *de prævaricatione*, which meant that he had accepted a bribe to betray the client whom he had undertaken to defend. He was acquitted, as were also Messius and Plancius.

triumph amidst contests and violence.¹ When we see what exertions and sacrifices the great men of Rome were wont to make for the sake of this honour, we shall be inclined to judge Cicero leniently, when we find him also advancing a claim to it.

The more however he withdrew from public affairs, the more closely did he connect himself with Cæsar, who in turn rewarded with peculiar kindness the adherence of the two brothers, the younger of whom, indeed, did him good service as his lieutenant. He not only wrote frequently to the elder Cicero, notwithstanding the press of business in which his wars engaged him, but received with favour every one who came recommended by him, and even thanked him for introducing Trebatius to his notice.*² To a letter from Clodius, written in a bitter spirit against his old enemy, he refused to return an answer, though pressed to do so by Quintus³: he read a poem by the elder brother†; expressed a flattering opinion of it in a letter to the author, and likewise in conversation with Quintus; and marked the passages with which he was not quite satisfied.⁴ In return, Marcus Cicero celebrated in verse Cæsar's campaign; chiefly indeed in compliance with his brother's urgent request‡, for he seems to have entered on the task somewhat unwillingly, and at one time destroyed what he had written: the poem, however, was subsequently completed.⁵ Here we have Cæsar and Cicero in characteristic lights: the

¹ *Epp.* 149, 5.; 153, 4. (*Att.* iv. 16; *Qu. fr.* iii. 4.); Dio Cass. xxxvii. 47, 48.; xxxix. 45.

² *Ep.* 140, 2. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 15.); comp. 133.; 145, 1.; 146, 3. ³ *Ep.* 146, 4. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1.)

⁴ *Ep.* 140, 1.; 144, 5. (*Qu. fr.* ii. 15, 16.)

⁵ *Epp.* 146, 4.; 158, 3.; 159, 6. (*Qu. fr.* iii. 1. 8, 9.); comp. 140, 1.

• A number of the letters of the years 700 and 701 are addressed to this learned jurist. He is the same to whom Horace dedicated the first satire of his second book.

† Probably the poem *de temporibus suis*.

‡ Quintus himself was a mighty poet: at one time, whilst acting as lieutenant under Cæsar, he composed four tragedies in sixteen days. *Ep.* 144, 4.; 154, 7.

one making preparations in Gaul for the conquest of the world; the other singing his exploits in Rome. The connexion was one which might well gratify the great commander.

Cæsar at this time was paying his court to the citizens by the embellishment of the capital. He extended the Forum as far as the Temple of Liberty, for which purpose it was necessary to pull down several private houses: he caused the enclosure for the Comitia of the tribes in the Campus Martius to be constructed of marble, roofed over, and surrounded by a portico 1000 paces in circumference: a public mansion adjoined these edifices. In the execution of these great works Cicero gave his assistance, along with

¹ *Ep.* 149, 9.
(*Att.* iv. 16.)

Oppius, a confidential friend and agent of their designer.*¹

At one time Cicero thought of going to Spain in the capacity of legate for Pompeius; but this design he abandoned in consequence of Cæsar's wish, which accorded with his own inclination, that he should remain in Rome.²

² *Epp.* 133.;
140, 1. (*Div.*
vii. 5.; *Qu.*
fr. ii. 15.)

The same plan it may be remarked was in contemplation, and very near being executed, towards the close of the

³ *Ep.* 157, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 18.)

year.³

It is evident from many passages in these letters, that Quintus had brought his brother over to the conviction he strongly felt himself, that their mutual interest lay in espousing Cæsar's cause.† The younger brother unquestionably exercised great influence over the elder: and it is perhaps not uncommon to see men eminent for talents, acquirements, and even political wisdom, submitting to the counsels of others less highly gifted than themselves, but possessed of a bolder temperament

* Suetonius says: *Forum de manubiis inchoavit, cujus area super sesterterium millies constitit. Jul.* 26. In the same chapter he mentions the games and banquets which Cæsar gave to the people *in filia memoriam.*

† Atticus also thought this alliance desirable. *Ep.* 201, 3. (*Att.* v. 13.)

and a more impetuous will. Many of his letters during his exile bear witness to this dependence of Marcus Cicero upon his brother: and now, in opposition to his ardent aspirations after repose, Quintus exhorted him to secure and extend the favour he had already acquired, and regain with additional lustre the reputation of his former days.¹ “You admonish me often,” writes Cicero, evidently annoyed by these importunities, “to labour for station and dignity; but when will you suffer me to *live*?”²

¹ Ep. 144, 1.
(Qu. fr. ii. 16.)

² Ep. 146, 5.
(Qu. fr. iii. 1.)

For now, more than ever, did the wearied statesman sigh for *the true life*, a leisure ennobled by intellectual occupation; *otium cum dignitate*. “I have much consolation” (about the state of the times), he writes to Atticus; “and I turn to that life which is most conformable to Nature, my beloved studies and meditations. In the pleasure which the science of Oratory gives me, I find compensation for the labour of public speaking. My house and my fields delight me. I think not of the height from which I have fallen, but of that to which I have risen again.”³ In May we find him at his Cuman villa; afterwards at that near Pompeii, where he remained till the beginning of June.⁴ He passed September at his paternal farm near Arpinum, where the coolness of the Fibrenus refreshed his frame.⁵ Whilst at Cumæ, he was employed upon the books *de Republica*⁶, with which he was also engaged at Tusculum, towards the end of November.⁷ The plan of the work was altered, and then again resumed.⁸ “It is a comprehensive and laborious work,” he writes to Quintus from Cumæ or Pompeii; “but if it succeeds, my labour will have been well employed: if not, I will throw it into the sea, which I am looking at while writing; and then I will begin something else; for rest I cannot.”⁹

³ Ep. 149, 5.
(Att. iv. 16.)

⁴ Epp. 137.; 138. (Att. iv. 14.; Qu. fr. ii. 14.)

⁵ Ep. 146, 1.
(Qu. fr. iii. 1.)

⁶ Epp. 137.; 138.

⁷ Ep. 154, 1.
(Qu. fr. iii. 5, 6.)

⁹ Ep. 138.

His time was much occupied now in the education of the young Ciceros (for he treated his brother's son as his own); and in this work he availed himself of the help of Dionysius, a learned freedman of his friend's, whose instructions he found useful to himself also.¹ He seems to have kept his son, now eleven years of age, hard at work. In October he writes to Quintus: "I am going to Tusculum, taking my Cicero with me to a school of learning, not of play." * Quintus's son, who was the elder of the two, already attended the lessons of a rhetorician.² "You know his talents," writes Cicero to his brother; "I observe his diligence." But it would appear that the severe method pursued with him was not pleasing to the boy; for even at that early period he showed signs of a sensual disposition.³ We shall see, at a later period, what vexation he caused his uncle.

In the summer, Atticus made a tour in Greece and Asia⁴, from which he returned, greatly to his friend's joy, at the end of November⁵; for their mutual regard continued steadfast, in spite of the injustice Cicero had been guilty of towards Atticus at the time of his exile and after its termination, when he reproached him for having counselled him unwisely.⁶ They did not separate again till the period of Cicero's Proconsulate.

We must now glance at the state of public affairs. Pompeius, notwithstanding his professions, never seriously intended to go to his province: on the contrary, he seems to have been covertly aiming at the Dictatorship. Cicero tells Quintus, in a letter written as early as June⁷, that such a scheme was even then in contemplation: he speaks of it again in October⁸, and towards the end of November⁹; and from another passage in his correspondence of the same date, we find that this was an object of

* *In ludum discendi, non lusionis.* Ep. 153. (Qu. fr. iii. 4.)

¹ *Epp.* 146, 2.; 142, 9. (Qu. fr. iii. 1.; Att. iv. 15.)

² *Epp.* 152, 4. (Qu. fr. iii. 3.)

³ *Epp.* 159. (Qu. fr. iii. 9.)

⁴ *Epp.* 142. (Att. iv. 15.)

⁵ *Epp.* 156, 1. (Att. iv. 17.)

⁶ *Epp.* 87, 1. (Att. iv. 1.)

⁷ *Epp.* 140, 3. (Qu. fr. ii. 15.)

⁸ *Epp.* 153, 1. (Qu. fr. iii. 4.)

⁹ *Epp.* 155, 2. (Qu. fr. iii. 7.)

ardent desire to the well-disposed among public men ; for the conduct of the Consul Domitius had shown how little was to be expected from the Optimates.¹ In the passage just mentioned, Cicero says that Pompeius himself at an earlier period had expressed his desire to become Dictator, though he now disclaimed it. Yet he had appointed a certain Hirrus to manage the affair for him. Possibly the state of feeling among the majority in Rome who, remembering Sulla, dreaded a revival of his office², may have rendered Pompeius timid and cautious ; besides which, we know what a thorough dissembler he was.³ In the beginning of December, Cicero writes to his brother : “ Nothing has yet been done about the Dictatorship. Pompeius is absent ; Appius intrigues against him ; Hirrus is preparing.* Many are named who will object to him † ; the populace cares for nothing beyond the passing moment ; our chiefs declare they will have no Dictatorship ; keep you quiet.”⁴

And, in fact, no such Dictator was created. Pompeius had, no doubt, ardently desired the office⁵ ; for he trusted that the possession of it would enable him at once to outstrip the advancing fortunes of his too powerful rival Cæsar. He forgot the vast difference between a general no longer young, who had for years reposed upon his laurels, and one still in the full vigour of life, who was gathering fresh wreaths daily, and had created an army fit to conquer the world. The connection between them had naturally become less firm, and it was further

* Hirrus intended, on succeeding to the Tribuneship to which he had been elected, to bring forward an edict for the Pompeian Dictatorship. The Tribune M. Cælius Vinicianus also was in favour of it ; he was derided by Cicero and his friends. *Ep.* 206. (*Div.* viii. 4.)

† [*Multi intercessores numerantur.* “ Many Tribunes are named who will intercede.”]

¹ *Ep.* 146, 7.
9. (*Qu. fr.*
iii. 1.)

² *Ep.* 158, 3.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
8.)

³ *Epp.* 149,
5.; 151, 2.
(*Att.* iv. 16.;
Qu. fr. iii. 2.)

⁴ *Dio Cass.*
xl. 45.

⁵ *Ep.* 151, 2.

⁶ *Ep.* 158, 3.
(*Qu. fr.* iii.
8.)

weakened by an event which now occurred. This was the death of Julia, the wife of Pompeius and daughter of Cæsar, who expired in childbed in the summer of 700.¹ This event plunged her father into deep affliction, though he bore his sorrow with magnanimity.²

The Senate, in the meanwhile, was occupied with inquiring into the excessive bribery of this year. It was in contemplation to erect a kind of secret tribunal; but this being prevented by the veto of one of the Tribunes, and the baseness of the Consuls*, accusations were brought in the usual manner against all the candidates.³ Other intrigues set on foot by Pompeius came into play, and the Consular Comitia were in consequence put off from month to month⁴: an interregnum was evidently at hand. Cicero foresaw, however, that Domitius and Messala, although accused by Pompeius⁵, would obtain the Consulship, and he became security to Cæsar for the good conduct of the last named, in the event of his succeeding.⁶ The end of the year arrived, and Rome was without her chief magistrates.

During this year the city had been visited by several calamities. An inundation which followed a heavy fall of rain, and did considerable damage to houses and gardens, caused superstitious fears, and connected the disorders of the State in the minds of the people with the anger of the Gods. Concerning these disorders, Cicero writes thus to Lentulus: "You will no longer find the Optimates in the same disposition as at the time of your departure. The State, which was strengthened by my Consulate, then for a while shaken, and which, enfeebled previously to your accession to power, had been by you again restored,

* The passage in which Cicero speaks of this affair in the Senate and of the conduct of the Consuls is very remarkable. He says: *Hic (in Senatu) Abdera, non tacente me.* *Ep.* 149. (*Att.* iv. 16.)

is now entirely abandoned by those whose duty it is to uphold and protect it.”¹ And he thus mourns over it again to Atticus: “We have lost every thing, not only the sap and life-blood, but even the outward form and colour of the ancient city. No Commonwealth now exists, where happiness or repose may be found.”² With the religious feeling which belonged to him, he regards the inundation as a punishment for the acquittal of Gabinius, and recalls to mind a pious sentiment of Homer.

Cicero’s spirit must indeed have been oppressed by heavy cares, however cheerfully he jests in some of his letters, and however secure he felt himself in the friendship and protection of Cæsar. A letter addressed to his brother about the end of the year from Tusculum, where his troubles and anxieties were generally forgotten, betrays his real feelings: “I withdraw myself from all care about public affairs, and devote myself to my studies; nevertheless I must confide to you something which from you, of all men, I would most willingly conceal. I am grieved, my dearest brother, I am grieved to the heart to think that there is no Republic, no justice left, and that these advanced years of my life, which ought to flourish in senatorial dignity, are either harassed with labours in the Forum, or if they seek relaxation, must find it in study at home. That verse which from a boy I delighted in —

Αἶέν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπείροχον ἐμμέναι ἄλλων³ —

has quite lost its significance for me. I may not attack

* Ep. 155, 1. (Qu. fr. iii. 7.) *Viget illud Homeri*:

Ἡματ’ ὀπωρὶνῶ ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ

Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ’ ἀνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνῃ,

(*cadit enim in absolutionem Gabinii*.)

Οἱ βίῃ εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας,

Ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες.

Il. xvi. 385.

³ Iliad, vi. 208.

my enemies; some of them I must even defend. Neither my inclination nor my hatred are any longer free; and of all men Cæsar alone regards me as I could wish; some indeed think he is the only man who sincerely loves me.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 154, 3.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 5, 6.)

THE YEARS 701 AND 702.

We have very few letters of Cicero belonging to the next two years, and what there are contain little that is important, either to his own history, or that of the State. Nearly seven months of the year 701 had elapsed* before the new magistrates were elected, and during this interval the State was administered by *Interreges*. Great disorder was the consequence of this unsettled state of affairs, especially in the judicial business.† The adherents of Pompeius, Hirrus in particular, chose this time to propose a Dictatorship, which in fact would have been justified, if ever, by actual circumstances. But the Senate resisted it strongly, and none so vehemently as Cato. Pompeius, who had been absent when the proposition was brought forward, now returned to the city, and declined accepting the proposed office, being ever cautious not to push things to extremity. Through his intervention, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala were chosen Consuls, and entered immediately upon office.² The

² *Dio Cass.*
xl. 46.

* *Dio Cass.* xl. 45. Appian, *B. C.* ii. 19., says eight.

† There were in the interval at least thirty-five interreges; for each of them held his office only five days. The disorder in the tribunals, however, was not perhaps so great as is generally supposed. See Schütz's note on *Ep.* 167, 1. (*Div.* vii. 11.) [He believes that though, in the absence of Prætors, there was a general cessation of legal proceedings, the interreges themselves decided at least in ordinary suits of debt. The interrex, however, had *jurisdictio*. Niebuhr, iii. 28., from Livy, xli. 9.]

popular favour their great liberality had won for them during the preceding year, had led Cicero already in the autumn to predict their success.¹ Rome still continued in a state of anarchy, although it had recovered its chief magistrates; and soon after their election, tidings reached the city that the army of Crassus had sustained a defeat from the Parthians, with the loss both of the general and his son Publius.* This event must also have contributed to weaken the connexion between Pompeius and Cæsar; and Cicero, in anticipation of the evil days impending, used every effort to procure the Consulship for the ensuing year for Milo, a man who gave some promise of being able to re-establish tranquillity, and to whom he was himself under great obligations.² He was doubly anxious to achieve this object, because Clodius was canvassing for the Prætorship the same year. From such a foe in such an office what might he not fear! and on whom could he place more reliance than upon Milo, should the latter succeed in obtaining the Consulship!† Pompeius, who had once been so powerfully supported by Milo against Clodius, became now, however, one of his most vehement opponents. He no doubt entertained a dread of his violent character; while on the other hand, from Metellus Scipio and Hypsæus, the other candidates, he hoped to gain assistance in his schemes for the Dictatorship, to which Milo was opposed.³ Clodius also tried every means to prevent Milo's election, and was supported by

¹ *Ep.* 149, 4.
(*Att.* iv. 16.)

² *Ep.* 178, 2.
(*Div.* ii. 6.);
comp. 158, 5.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 8.)

³ *Ep.* 158, 5.
(*Qu. fr.* iii. 8.)

* The younger Crassus had before this served under Cæsar in Gaul. Crassus had undertaken the war without full powers; he had only the authority which the law of Trebonius gave him.

† Cicero's efforts on Milo's behalf produced his speech *De ære alieno Milonis*, which was directed against Clodius. We only possess some short fragments of it, with a commentary ascribed to Asconius. Blood was shed in the frays which occurred between the party of Milo and that of his rival in the suit for the Consulship. Ascon, in *or. pro Mil.*

three of the Tribunes, particularly by Munatius Plancus Bursa. Tumults and bloodshed followed, and the Consul Domitius was wounded in endeavouring to restore order. Again the year came to a close without any elections for the next Consulship or the other magistracies.

And now an event occurred which had been predicted by Cicero five years before¹, and which at once destroyed his own hopes as well as those of Milo. On the 20th January, 702, Clodius and Milo encountered each other on the Appian Way, in the neighbourhood of Bovillæ. The latter was on his road to Lanuvium, the former returning from Aricia to Rome. Each was accompanied by a large retinue. An affray took place between their followers, amongst whom were some gladiators, which ended in the assassination of Clodius.² The news of this deed, and the spectacle of the corpse which was publicly exposed on the Rostrum, immediately excited a great tumult in the city, which was inflamed still more by the Tribunes adverse to Milo, especially by Bursa. The people, roused to fury by the murder of their favourite, vented their rage upon the Senate which took Milo's part. The remains of Clodius were brought into the Hostilian Curia; a funeral pyre was erected with benches and other combustible articles; and the Curia itself, as well as a neighbouring Basilica, was consumed in the flames. Further violence ensued. Milo's house escaped destruction by his care in fortifying and garrisoning it. He was himself absent; but soon returned, and gave occasion to a fresh outbreak, which compelled him to leave the city once more.

In this state of things, amidst disturbances fomented by Pompeius himself, men's thoughts turned once more to a Dictatorship.* But there were few to whom the name

* According to Appian, even the Senate also was inclined towards it.

¹ *Ep.* 89.
(*Att.* iv. 3.)

² *Ascon. in Mil.*; *Dio Cass.* xl. 48.; *Appian, B. C.* li. 21

itself was not an object of dread; and a compromise proposed by the Consular Bibulus was now gladly embraced, Cato himself supporting it. The three candidates for the Consulship, Milo, Q. Metellus Scipio, and P. Plautius Hypsæus, were all set aside, and Pompeius elected sole Consul.*

Thus invested with extraordinary power,—ruler of Spain and Africa, at the head of a large army,—sole Consul, to avoid the name of Dictator, — Pompeius proceeded in the first instance to issue a severe edict against *ambitus*, which had in this year again been carried to its highest pitch.† At the same time he promulgated a law concerning tumults, aimed especially at Milo. He was fully resolved that this man should fall, in spite of all the measures effected by himself and his followers, under cover of which they had proceeded to such extremities.¹¹ Ascon. *Vell.* Pater. ii. 47. The three Tribunes before named, Bursa as usual foremost, gave him their strenuous aid. The process against Milo commenced in April. Appius Claudius, a nephew of the murdered man, M. Antonius‡ the future Triumvir, who a few years later married Fulvia the widow of Clodius, and P. Valerius Nepos, came forward as the accusers. The Consular Domitius Ahenobarbus presided

* On the 25th February, under the auspices of the Interrex S. Sulpicius Asconius.

† We learn from Plutarch (*Cæs.* 28.) in what a shameless and public manner the bribery was carried on at the elections, and by what bloody frays they were accompanied.

‡ I know of no other M. Antonius at this time. He was designated Quæstor the year preceding, with the support of Cicero (*Philipp.* ii. 20.) He was at that time an opponent of Clodius, and plotted to assassinate him. We need not be surprised at finding him now among the accusers of Milo. Fulvia may have instigated him to come forward in behalf of her murdered husband, who had formerly been his associate. Soon after this Antonius took himself to Cæsar. It is strange, certainly, that there should be nothing in the second Philippic of Antonius as the accuser of Milo.

in the tribunal. Hortensius, Cato, and others were advocates for the accused, but Cicero alone spoke for him. But, however courageous he had shown himself in undertaking the defence of Milo when assailed by such powerful enemies *, even Cicero's accustomed resolution forsook him in the defence itself. On ascending the Rostrum he was frightened by the shouts of the Clodian party, and by the appearance of the armed force with which Pompeius had surrounded the Forum, in order to secure himself against violence, and give an imposing air to the proceedings.† Dio tells us that "He gave utterance to but little of that he intended to have said. His words died on his lips, and it was evident that he was glad to leave off speaking."‡ Milo was condemned to banishment by a majority of thirty-eight votes over thirteen. He forthwith quitted Rome and repaired to Massilia. Cicero afterwards revised his speech, and sent it to him in his exile, and in this form we now possess it. §

Cicero afterwards successfully defended M. Saufeius, one of Milo's friends, who was accused in accordance with the law of Pompeius mentioned above. He was said to have been especially active in the murder of Clodius, but was acquitted by a majority of votes.¹ The subsequent

¹ Ascon. in or. pro Milone.

* *Dicturum diem Ciceroni Plancus ostendebat, postea autem Q. Pompeius idem minitatus erat. Tanta tamen constantia ac fides fuit Ciceronis, ut non populi a se alienatione, non Cn. Pompeii suspicionibus, non futuri periculi metu, si sibi dies ad populum diceretur, non armis quæ palam in Milonem sumta erant, deterreri potuerit a defensione ejus, quum posset omne periculum suum et offensionem inimicæ multitudinis declinare, redimere etiam Cn. Pompeii animum, si paulum ex studio defensionis remisisset.* Ascon.

† In fact, some citizens were slain in a fray with the soldiers during the hearing of the witnesses.

‡ Dio Cass. xl. 54. Dio was indeed an adversary of Cicero's; but the account of Asconius is substantially the same.

§ Dio Cass. l. l. Milo was condemned also by the law against *ambitus*. Ascon.

condemnation of Bursa, which the intercession of Pompeius had been ineffectual to avert, afforded Cicero a higher gratification even than this acquittal. He had himself accused him towards the close of the year for his violent conduct as Tribune, and especially for setting fire to the Hostilian Curia, in the late tumult.¹ He had strong personal grounds of animosity against Bursa, from having been the constant object of his persecution and calumny. "Believe me," he writes to his friend Marius, "this sentence has caused me more joy than the death of my enemy. . . . I hated Bursa more than Clodius himself." The popularity of Pompeius was now on the increase. He had formed a closer alliance with the Senate since he had become sole Consul, thinking that he might soon want its authority to resist Cæsar. On this principle also must we explain his adoption of a colleague for the last five months of the year, in P. Cornelius Scipio*, whose daughter Cornelia, the widow of Publius Crassus, he married about this time. He affected the character of one who venerated the ancient forms of the Republic. By ratifying a decree which the Senate and people had passed, to the effect that no newly elected Consul or Prætor should be sent to the government of a province within five years after he had been in office, he sought to set limits to the unrestrained and lawless pursuit of the highest dignities, and he took some stringent measures with regard to the tribunals.² Yet he did not shrink from the augmentation of his own authority, even in contravention of existing laws, and he consented to the prolongation of his Consulate in Spain for

¹ Dio Cass.
xl. 55.

² Dio Cass.
xl. 56. 52.

* By adoption Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius. [He is more commonly called Scipio, there being at the time no other distinguished personage of that name.]

five years, with an increased military force.* On the other hand, Dio asserts that Pompeius himself, dreading the jealousy of his rival, caused a law to be proposed by his creature, Cælius, authorising Cæsar to sue for the Consulship whilst absent from Rome.¹ Cicero took an active part in furthering this measure, and Cato's earnest opposition was fruitless.²

¹ Suet. *Jul.* 26.; *Ep.* 294, 2. (*Att.* vii. 3.)

² *Ep.* 284, 2. (*Att.* vii. 1.); Appian, *B. C.* ii. 25.; Liv. *Epit.* cvii.

True patriots saw with grief to what lengths the aspirations of the two rivals would lead. Cato, in hopes of affording some support to the tottering Republic, offered himself for the Consulate of the ensuing year; but his designs were too well known to both the contending parties. M. Claudius Marcellus and Serv. Sulpicius Rufus were elected.³ Cato never sued again for this dignity.

Dio Cass. xl. 53.

As for Cicero, he obtained the post of Augur, in the room of P. Crassus, who had been the object of his great esteem and affection, and had always looked up to him with admiration.⁴ This office, rooted as it was in the original constitution of Rome, and tenable for life, conferred great lustre on its possessor. Cicero was presented to the people agreeably to custom, and recommended to their choice, by Pompeius and Hortensius⁵ in their capacity of Augurs. After his election he was consecrated by Hortensius.⁶ †

⁴ *Ep.* 131, 1. (*Div.* v. 8.)

⁵ *Philipp.* 11. 2.

⁶ *Brut.* 1.

Cicero's love of letters was still unextinguished; and in this year, which was one of so much anxiety to him,—when, moreover, the number of new laws enacted, and of trials in which he took part, must have given him abundant occupation⁷,—he appears to have written his treatise “de

⁷ *Ep.* 182, 2. (*Div.* vii. 2.)

* Dio Cass. xl. 56. Plutarch says that it was prolonged for four years. *Pomp.* 55.

† Cicero himself speaks thus of the Augurate. *Maximum et præstantissimum in republica jus est augurum, et cum auctoritate conjunctum.* *De legg.* ii. 12. The late Tribune Hirrus was his competitor. *Ep.* 203, 1. (*Div.* viii. 3.)

Legibus," in which he professed to take Plato for his model.*

Among the few letters of 701, 702, some of the most remarkable are those to C. Scribonius Curio, who had returned from Asia, where he had been Quæstor in the former year. His father, Consul in 678, and subsequently one of the most illustrious of the Consulars, had expired shortly before his son's return.¹ He himself had been described by Cicero as a partizan of Clodius at the time of the affair of the Bona Dea, and had received from him the contemptuous appellation of "*Filiola Curionis*," as the reputed favourite of M. Antonius, his junior by a few years.² He is the same Curio whose name Vettius so shamefully employed in the pretended conspiracy against Pompeius.³ This youth was richly endowed by nature, and had attracted the observation of Cicero, through whose intercession with his father he had been rescued from the desperate situation into which his dissipation had plunged him.⁴ From henceforth Cicero numbered him among his friends; and his character being formed under the Consular's eyes, great things might naturally be expected from him. He appears to have done his patron considerable service during the period of the Clodian persecution.⁵

It is a fine trait in Cicero's character, that, desperate as he considered the prospects of the State to be, he could yet devote himself with earnest solicitude to form the minds and opinions of such among the rising generation as gave promise of distinction, seeking to develope their mental qualities, and to inspire them with a generous patriotism. The same man who, not long before, had written to Atticus, "There is no longer a Republic in which I can find pleasure or repose; but this I bear in the recollection of

¹ *Ep.* 168.
(*Div.* ii. 2.)

² *Ep.* 19, 6.
(*Att.* i. 14.);
Philipp. ii. 2.
18.

³ *Ep.* 50, 2.
(*Att.* ii. 24.)

⁴ *Philipp.* ii.
18.

⁵ *Ep.* 166, 1
(*Div.* ii. 16.)
see also *Brut.*
81.

* See Goerenz, *Introd. ad Libros de Legg.*, p. xvii. foll.

¹ *Ep.* 149, 5.
(*Att.* iv. 16.)

its past beauty in the days when I governed it,"¹ now exclaims to Curio, then on his return, "Whether you nourish any hopes for the Republic, or whether you despair of it, so prepare yourself, so plan, and so determine, as one destined to restore to its ancient dignity and freedom a State oppressed and ruined by misery and corruption;"²

² *Ep.* 175.
(*Div.* ii. 5.)

and again: "Such are the expectations entertained from your genius and your heart, that I beg and conjure you to justify and fulfil them; let my advancing age find repose in your youthful vigour."³

³ *Ep.* 166, 2.
(*Div.* ii. 1.)

Such were the hopes which Cicero placed in Curio, who, on his first arrival in the city, joined his party, and for a considerable time, including the period of his Tribunate, supported the cause of the Optimates and of the Senate, but finally went over to the side of Cæsar, and became the most zealous promoter of his schemes.*

* The whole of this fifth section comprises ninety-five letters, of which twenty-five are addressed to Quintus, twenty to Atticus, ten to the Proconsul Lentulus, thirteen to Trebatius, six to Curio. Of the remainder we may note particularly one to Julius Cæsar, one to Crassus the Triumvir, and two to Cicero's friend Marius. That we have lost many of Cicero's letters is apparent as well from many passages in our collection as from the testimony of other writers; it is natural it should be so.

BOOK VI.

LETTERS OF CICERO,

WRITTEN DURING HIS PROCONSULATE,

IN THE YEARS

703 AND 704. B. C. 51. 50.

CICERO AS PROCONSUL.

BOOK VI.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 703. B. C. 51. CIC. 56.

SERV. SULPICIUS RUFUS ; M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

THE Consul Marcellus urges in the Senate the recall of Cæsar from his province before the expiration of his appointed time ; but the moderation of the other Consul and the intervention of some of the Tribunes hinder the passing of the decree. Cæsar finishes the war in Gaul, after having defeated the Bellovaci, Treviri, Carnutes and Cadurci, and conquered the province of Aquitania. His legions winter in Gaul, and he is occupied in endeavouring to reduce the whole of the province into subjection.

A. U. 704. B. C. 50. CIC. 57.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS ; C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

Appius Claudius Pulcher and L. Calpurnius Piso, are the Censors for this year ; and these are the last appointed by the people.

To the law mentioned above (p. 211.), by which five years were to elapse before a Consul or Prætor should assume in person the government of a province, was annexed a clause, providing that such province should in the meanwhile be administered by Consulars and former

Prætors, who had not been governors before. Of this number was Cicero; and to him was now committed the administration of Cilicia, together with the three districts of Laodicea, Cibyra and Apamea in Asia, which had been hitherto governed by Appius Claudius Pulcher, the brother of Clodius, and the provinces of Pisidia, Pamphylia, Isauria, Lycaonia (united to Cilicia since the victories of Pompeius), with the island of Cyprus, all of which had similarly been included in the command of his predecessor.¹ The province of Syria fell at the same time by lot to the Consular Bibulus. Of the two Consuls for the year 703, the one, Marcellus, a decided Optimate, was vehement in his hostility to Cæsar, while the other, Sulpicius, feared him too much to venture on any steps to diminish his power and influence.²

We have already seen that the rupture between the two leaders was preparing to break out. Pompeius took his measures accordingly, and it cannot be denied that he conducted himself with prudent foresight during the term of his Consulate, and for some time after. This third Consulate had manifestly restored him in public estimation; and we observe a great increase of respect and confidence in Cicero's tone, when speaking of him at the commencement of the present period. He writes thus, after visiting him on his way to his province at Tarentum³, (where Pompeius was then residing for the benefit of his health), and conversing with him for three days: "I can assure you," (he is addressing Cælius,) "that Pompeius is an excellent citizen; and that he is preparing himself with spirit and wisdom to serve the State in whatever way its interests may require."⁴ He strongly opposed the wish Pompeius expressed, to assume the government of his own province, which, if sincere, could only have been with the view of opposing Cæsar more effectually, in case of al-

¹ *Ep.* 509. (*Div.* xiii. 67.); *de Div.* i. 1.

² *Ep.* 202. 2. (*Div.* viii. 2.); *Ep.* 210. 2. (*Div.* viii. 5.); comp. *Suet. Jul.* 29.

³ *Epp.* 189, 1. 190. (*Att.* 5, 6, 7.)

⁴ *Ep.* 189, 1. (*Att.* v. 6.)

open rupture¹; and said he should consider the cause of the nobles as for ever lost should Pompeius leave Italy.

On the other hand, we find Cicero seeking by every possible means to relieve himself from his liabilities to Cæsar, who had lent him a sum of 800,000 sesterces.²

We also find that Quintus was no longer in Cæsar's retinue, but accompanied his brother in the capacity of legate to Cilicia. In short, circumstances were now in the position to which they had long been evidently tending. For a time Cicero's mind might have been subdued by the genius of Cæsar, and his sympathies attracted by his kindness and magnanimity; but not even a Cæsar could change his natural temperament; and this invariably led him back to Pompeius after every temporary distraction of his affections. It would seem also that Cæsar was less anxious to conciliate him than formerly, if we may argue from the circumstance that Plancus Bursa, whose condemnation had rejoiced Cicero more than even the death of Clodius³, was now living at Ravenna, liberally endowed by the great commander.⁴ Besides, if the brothers had still had reason to rest all their hopes upon him, is it likely that now, when he had just completed the conquest of Gaul, and was preparing for yet greater undertakings, Quintus should have discontinued his attendance upon him?

The nearer the decisive rupture seemed to approach, the more keenly did Cicero regret the necessity of leaving Rome. What events might not take place during his absence! and how important, in his own opinion, might not his personal influence prove! Accordingly, we find him, even before he set out, anxiously providing for the speediest possible termination of the period of his government; and the letters written on his journey, from the very earliest to those of later date, contain urgent exhort-

¹ *Ep.* 198, 3.
(*Att.* v. 11.)

² *Epp.* 184.;
189.; 195.
(*Att.* v. l. 6.)

³ *Ep.* 182, 2.
(*Div.* vii. 2.)

⁴ *Ep.* 192, 5.
(*Div.* viii. 1.)

ations to Atticus and his other friends to prevent any obstacles to his return.¹ He left it in charge to Cælius, to send him the most precise and detailed intelligence of political events.²

There was another reason why he disliked leaving Rome. The office of Proconsul was by no means to his taste. He was not one of those who looked to the administration of a province as the means of indemnifying themselves for the expenses incident to their previous political career, or as a source of future wealth and influence. On the contrary, he detested the extortion and injustice in which the provincial governors so generally indulged. But to be far from Rome, from the city he had saved, the scene of his own labours and exploits, was almost more than he could endure. "Nothing," so he wrote to Atticus after his entry into his province, "was more ardently desired than my arrival, and nothing can exceed the affection with which I am everywhere greeted. But I cannot describe how adverse to my inclinations are my present duties. My ardent spirit, which you know so well, and my active energies, have here no field for exercise; here, my noblest occupations must needs slumber. I have to administer justice at Laodicea, while one no better than Plotius does the same duty at Rome; and while our friend* has a whole army under his command, I am forced to content myself with a couple of legions, which in truth do not deserve the name. But this, after all, is not what I miss; the public gaze, the Forum, the city, my own house, these are what my soul longs for. The panniers are strapped on the ox's back: it is no fit burden for me; yet I will bear it; only, as you love me, let it be but for a year."³ Again, writing to his friend from Athens, he says: "I cannot

* Either Cassius, who had succeeded to the command of the vanquished army of Crassus, or Bibulus.

¹ *Epp.* 184, 1.; 185, 12.; 187.; 195. (*Att.* v. 1, 2, 4, 9.)

² *Epp.* 192, 1; 200, 2.; 201, 3.; 204.; 207. (*Div.* viii. 1.; *Att.* v. 12, 13, 14, 15.)

³ *Ep.* 207. (*Att.* v. 15.)

express how ardently I long to behold the city again, and with what repugnance I discharge this vapid office.”¹ ¹ Ep. 198. 1. (Att. v. 11); comp. En. 191. 1. (Att. v. 10.) Undoubtedly, Cicero overrated his influence in the State, but this was part of his peculiar character. A terrible disenchantment was in store for him. Standing at the gates of Rome in January, 705, he must have wished himself far away in his despised province of Cilicia.

In addition to these sources of vexation and anxiety he had now to think of a new matrimonial alliance for Tullia, who had been recently divorced from Crassipes. Several plans offered themselves, and we see from many of his letters how much this care for his beloved daughter weighed on the father's heart.²

Cicero had received, together with his province, the command of an army (*cum imperio*)³ to provide for its security and protect it from surrounding enemies. Two legions with their quota of horse were stationed in Cilicia, but this force had been considerably diminished under the Proconsul Appius, so that in order to meet an apprehended war with the Parthians, a reinforcement appeared necessary. He accordingly exerted himself to procure additional troops by enlistment in Italy, but the Consul Sulpicius opposed him⁴, and he was compelled to proceed on his journey without them. The legates assigned him were, together with his brother Quintus, M. Annæus, L. Tullius, and C. Pomptinius, who had obtained a triumph in the year 700. He could not make up his mind to part with his son for so long a time, and accordingly took him, as well as his nephew, along with him. Both youths were consigned to the instruction and superintendence of the learned Dionysius. When Cicero arrived in his province, he gave them over to the care of Deiotarus, son of the king of Galatia of the same name.⁵

He began his journey at the commencement of May.

At Arpinum, his native city, he was joined by Quintus, at whose Arcanum he partook of a noon-day repast, when he had occasion to observe the unhappy terms on which Quintus and his wife Pomponia lived together. On his own Cumæan estate he was greeted by a numerous assemblage of his dependants¹, so that, as he writes, he found himself surrounded by a Rome in miniature. Hortensius, although sick, caused himself to be transported from a distant residence to meet him. At Tarentum, where he arrived on the 18th of May², he had the long and important interview with Pompeius which has already been mentioned. At Brundisium he stayed till towards the middle of June, detained partly by indisposition and partly by the expectation of being joined by his legate Pomptinius, who however did not arrive.³ On the 15th of this month he landed at Actium, whence he proceeded by land to Athens, arriving there on the 25th.⁴

¹ *Ep.* 185. 1.
(*Att.* v. 2.)

² *Ep.* 189.
(*Att.* v. 6.)

³ *Epp.* 191, 1.
(*Div.* iii. 3.);
193. (*Att.* v.
8.)

⁴ *Epp.* 195.;
196, 1. (*Att.*
v. 9. 10.)

Here he was received with great rejoicings; his literary attainments and his love for the Greeks were well known, while the great simplicity and moderation he had observed throughout his journey, contrasting as they did strongly with the ordinary habits of a governor on his route to his province, had gained him all hearts. He remained in this city till the 6th of July, lodging in the house of Aristo the academician, while his brother took up his abode in a neighbouring one belonging to the Epicurean Xeno. He passed some pleasant days in conversing with the philosophers of Athens, and in examining the monuments and other objects worthy of note, and had also the pleasure of rendering a service to the Epicureans, though by no means favourable to their philosophy.* Pomptinius here joined him.⁵

⁵ *Ep.* 198, 4.
(*Att.* v. 11.)

* This was by interceding for them with Memmius, who having been banished from Rome (see p. 191.), was then living at Athens. He had

Leaving Athens, Cicero took ship at Piræus, and after a voyage of six days, the first part of which was somewhat stormy, he landed at Delos, passing by Zoster, Ceos, Gyarus, and Scyrus on his way.¹ On the 22nd of July ^{1 Ep. 200, 1. (Att. v. 12.)} he arrived at Ephesus, where he received three welcome pieces of intelligence: first, that the Parthians, who had caused him considerable anxiety, were then in a state of repose; secondly, that the contracts with the Publicani in his province had been concluded; and thirdly, that a mutiny of the soldiers in Cilicia had been quelled by Appius.² In Asia, and especially at Ephesus, he was re- ^{2 Epp. 201, 1.; 195.; 204. (Att. v. 13. 9. 14.)} ceived as warmly as in Greece. His next stage was Tralles, which he reached on the 27th of July, and on the last day of the month he entered his own province and arrived at Laodicea.³ “Make a mark against this day in your calendar,” he writes to Atticus⁴, with the desire that ^{3 Epp. 205, 1.; 207. (Div. iii. 5.; Att. v. 15.)} his friend should be on the watch to prevent the possible ^{4 Ep. 204. (Att. v. 14.)} prolongation, through any oversight, of his proconsular year.

Great as had been Cicero's disinclination to undertake the administration of a province, his distaste to the employment must have increased when he had entered upon its duties. In the beginning of August, he writes in the following strain to Atticus: “The object of great expectation,

obtained from the Areopagus the grant of a piece of land on which Epicurus had formerly resided, and where the ruins of his house were still standing. Cicero now wrote to him and begged him to consent to a revocation of the gift, as it gave offence to the philosopher's disciples. The example of Memmius, Milo and others, evinces the indifference with which many of the principal Romans regarded exile from the city; an indifference which is perhaps more unpleasing to us than Cicero's despair. Cicero's letter to Memmius, then on a journey to Mitylene, exhibits his respect for his distinguished countryman; it is also a masterpiece of art. Ep. 197. (Div. xiii. 1.); comp. 198, 5.

I have arrived in a province which is utterly and for ever ruined; . . . a province full of the frightful traces, not of a man but of some wild beast.”¹ And again: “I have enough to do to heal the wounds which have been inflicted on my province.”² In the following month the Parthians crossed the Euphrates and threatened Cilicia; and Cicero, writing in consequence to the supreme authorities in Rome, says: “The forces of our allies are so much weakened by the injuries they have sustained at our hands, or are so alienated from us, that we can neither expect anything from them, nor place any trust in them.”³ Besides this, the troops assigned to him formed a very inadequate force. Several cohorts were wanting to complete the two legions⁴, which had with difficulty been brought back to their allegiance after the mutiny mentioned above. In case of a war with the Parthians he could only rely on the assistance of Deiotarus, king of Galatia, who was a firm friend to the Romans. The State on the other hand seemed to think that, having once despatched a governor into a province, it had done its part, and expected him to do everything without supplying the requisite means.⁵ Such was the condition of the Commonwealth. Cæsar and Pompeius had gradually drawn within their own grasp the whole of its resources.

Still Cicero’s courage did not fail, and he at once set about fulfilling the promise he had made his friend immediately after quitting Rome. “I will satisfy all parties by my diligence and moderation.”⁶ Again, before his arrival at Athens, he says: “I reflect daily upon your exhortations, and impress them upon my followers. I shall endeavour to perform the functions of my high office with the utmost modesty and sobriety;”⁷ and from Athens he writes: “Hitherto our journey has cost nothing, either to private individuals or to the country through

¹ *Ep.* 208.
(*Att.* v. 16.)

² *Ep.* 209.
(*Att.* v. 17.)

Ep. 221, 2.
(*Div.* xv. 1.)

Ep. 213.
(*Div.* iii. 6.)

⁵ *Ep.* 210, 1.
(*Div.* viii. 5.)

⁶ *Ep.* 186.
(*Att.* v. 3.)

Ep. 195.
(*Att.* v. 9.)

which we passed. We have taken nothing from our hosts, not even what the Julian law allows us.* All my subordinate officers are actuated by the desire of maintaining my reputation, and as yet every thing goes on prosperously. The Greeks have not failed to remark this, and my praise is in every mouth.¹ We cannot wonder that feeling and acting thus, and endeavouring most conscientiously, as he did, to make his subordinates conduct themselves on the same principles throughout the whole period of his Proconsulate, he was regarded by the Greeks and Asiatics with sincere love and admiration. This year may indeed justly rank among the fairest of his existence. Remember how Verres ill-treated his province, in what a state Lucullus found Asia.² And was Cicero's predecessor better than other governors who had ravaged the beautiful regions of Asia?³ The officials under Appius seem to have been even worse than their master. Before his departure from Rome, Cicero had preferred a request to him, that he would in person deliver up to him the province in as orderly a condition as possible. He looked forward with eagerness to this interview, to which Appius consented, though secretly intending to avoid it. At Brundisium one of his freedmen told the new Proconsul that it would be most agreeable to his master to meet him at Sida, on the coast of Pamphylia; and thither accordingly Cicero agreed to repair, although it would have been more convenient to him to have proceeded immediately from Ephesus to the Asiatic districts of the province. At Corcyra, however, he learned from a friend and companion of Appius, that it would be better to have the meeting at Laodicea. Thither he now directed his course, and more willingly than to Sida; but on his arrival he found that Appius was not there, but in

¹ *Ep.* 195.
(*Att.* v. 9.)

² *Epp.* 198. 4.;
196, 1.; 208,
1.; 209, 2.;
228. 2.; 250.
⁴ (*Att.* v. 11.
10. 16. 17. 20,
21.)

³ *Ep.* 252, 2.
(*Att.* vi. 1.)

* This was a law enacted by Julius Cæsar during his first Consulate.

the remote city of Tarsus, where, contrary to all right and precedent, he was holding courts and making regulations with the full knowledge that his successor had already reached the province.*¹

¹ *Ep.* 209, 6.;
913. (*Att.* v.
17.; *Div.* iii.
d.)

Subsequently to this, when Cicero was in the camp at Iconium, Appius did really come to that city, though under circumstances which lead one to suspect that he was glad to avoid a personal interview with his successor. Well indeed might he shrink from a public meeting with a man whose mere entry into the province offered such a contrast to the whole period of his own government. Nevertheless, after his return to Rome, he made the most unjust complaints against Cicero for not having come out of his camp to meet him with the customary marks of respect.²

² *Ep.* 244, 3.
(*Div.* iii. 7.)

³ *Ep.* 208, 2.
(*Att.* v. 16.)

Cicero remained three days at Laodicea³, and then continued his journey, passing through Apamea and Synnada. He spent three days in each of these cities (which, together with Laodicea, were the chief places in his province), hearing the complaints of the inhabitants, and relieving them of their burdens as far as was then in his power.⁴ Greatly indeed was this relief wanted. "I heard nothing," he writes to Atticus, "but that the people are unable to pay the capitation tax imposed upon them. Every one has sold his lands; the states sigh and groan; life itself has become a burden to the people."⁵

⁴ *Ep.* 238, 1.
(*Div.* xv. 4.)

⁵ *Ep.* 208, 1.
(*Att.* v. 18.)

Before his departure from Rome he had framed his edict, the public manifesto, that is, which set forth the nature and method of his proposed government. Especial care was bestowed on the head which treated of the outlay to be made for the governor and his officials, and herein was inserted much that was new and beneficial. The rate of

* According to the *lex de provinciis ordinandis* the ex-governor might remain in his province thirty days after the arrival of his successor. But he was certainly not entitled to act in the manner Appius was doing.

usury and interest was reduced to the least oppressive amount, viz. 12 per cent.¹ In accordance with this edict and its principles, he was anxious that neither himself nor his retinue should be costly to the province, and he exercised the same moderation that had characterized his journey through Greece, exacting neither provisions nor fuel, nor even such things as the Julian law entitled him to demand. A lodging of four beds only was assigned to the Quæstor and the legates, who indeed often made shift with their tents.²

The Proconsul could devote but little time at first to the administration of justice; this he reserved for the winter, and hastened on to Iconium in Lycaonia, where his army was encamped, intending to take advantage of the summer for ordering his forces and making such expeditions as should be necessary.³ In the mutiny which had occurred before his arrival, six cohorts had separated themselves from the main body, and without a legate, tribune, or even a centurion at their head, had encamped near Philomelium. Thither Cicero had despatched M. Anneius, who succeeded in inducing them to return to their colours, so that on his arrival in the camp on the 36th of August after a ten days' sojourn in Iconium, he found all his troops assembled there, and was able to review them.⁴ His strength was further augmented by a battalion of veterans and some auxiliaries from the neighbouring kings and free states who now joined him. On the 30th of August an ambassador from Antiochus, king of Commagene, brought tidings to the camp, that Pacorus, son of Orodes king of Parthia, who had married a sister of Artavasdes ruler of Armenia, was about to cross the Euphrates with a powerful army, whilst his brother-in-law invaded Cappadocia.⁵ This information caused an alteration in Cicero's plans; for had he adhered to his first

¹ *Ep.* 222, 2. (*Div.* iii. 8.); *Epp.* 250, 11.; 252, 5. (*Att.* vi. 1.; *Att.* v. 21.)

² *Epp.* 208, 1.; 209, 2. (*Att.* v. 16, 17.)

³ *Epp.* 204.; 219. (*Att.* v. 14.; *Div.* xv. 2.)

⁴ *Epp.* 228, 1.; 238, 1.; (*Att.* v. 20.; *Div.* xv. 4.)

⁵ *Epp.* 212.; 238, 1.; 214, 1. (*Div.* xv. 3, 4.; *Att.* v. 18.)

intention and proceeded by the shortest route to Cilicia, though the mount Amanus would have sheltered him on the side of Syria, he would have left the enemy a free passage into the Asiatic province through Cappadocia, which country had been commended to his protection; and of this they would no doubt take advantage unless Cassius should stoutly oppose them.* This officer, as Quæstor to the late Proconsul Crassus, was commanding the army in Syria, Bibulus not having yet arrived to assume the reins of government, and was then occupying Antioch.

Cicero could not venture to divide his army, which, in spite of the assistance of the allies, was far from strong.¹ He resolved therefore to lead it at once into that part of Cappadocia which bordered on Cilicia, in the hope of alarming the Parthians and Armenians, and inducing them to abandon their design of invasion.² His confidence was further increased by the arrival of an ambassador from Deiotarus, with promises of ample aid from his master.³ On the last day of August, accordingly, he led his army from Iconium towards the east, and encamped at Cybistra, at the foot of the Taurus, in the friendly province of Cappadocia. He sent his cavalry into Cilicia, in order to afford some protection to this country, and to acquire early intelligence of what was passing in Syria.⁴

He remained in his camp at Cybistra for three days †, during which he had an opportunity of displaying himself in all the pomp of his Proconsular dignity. He was enabled also to render an important service to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, and at the same time to the party of

* C. Cassius Longinus, afterwards one of the principal conspirators against Caesar.

† In *Epp.* 228, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.); 238, 1. (*Div.* xv. 4.), Cicero says five days.

¹ *Ep.* 221, 2. (*Div.* xv. 1.)

² *Ep.* 228, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.)

³ *Ep.* 238. (*Div.* xv. 4.)

⁴ *Epp.* 213.; 219. (*Div.* iii. 6.; xv. 2.); *Ep.* 228, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.)

Pompeius. The Senate, over whom the influence of that statesman was then at its height, had commissioned Cicero to take under the especial protection of the Romans the aforesaid monarch¹, who was supposed to be oppressed by a party in his state, and whose father had been murdered by his rebellious subjects. He was desired to salute him in the name of the Republic, assuring him that his prosperity should be the subject of grave concern to the Senate and people of Rome. The interview took place in the camp, whither the king had repaired, in presence of Cicero's principal officers. Ariobarzanes testified the utmost gratitude and satisfaction, at the same time assuring the Proconsul that he was not aware of any conspiracy against his own life or dominion. But the following day he appeared again before Cicero, accompanied by his brother Ariarathes and several friends and relations, and told him that he had now been informed of the existence of a conspiracy which no one had ventured to reveal to him before the arrival of the Romans. A powerful faction, it seemed, wished to deprive him of his crown, and to bestow it on Ariarathes; but the latter had declined to become a party to the plot. Ariobarzanes begged for the assistance of a part of the Roman army; but this Cicero was not in a condition to grant. He however encouraged the friends of the king in their allegiance, reconciled to him some of his discontented subjects, and suggested some wise measures for his adoption. He also persuaded Archelaus, the high priest of the Temple of Bellona at Comana*, who possessed great wealth, and the command of a strong force in the interest of the disaffected party, to abandon Cappadocia.² He thus

¹ *Ep.* 238, 1.
(*Div.* xv. 4.)

² *Epp.* 219.;
238, 1. (*Div.*
xv. 2. 4.)

* This temple enjoyed a great reputation amongst the ancients. Its priest was possessed of considerable power, and was almost independent of the king. (Hirtius, *Bell. Alex.* 66.)

strengthened Ariobarzanes on his throne, and by so doing laid both Cato and Pompeius under obligations to himself, for Cappadocia was under Cato's protection, and Ariobarzanes owed large sums of money to Pompeius, who sought by the acquisition of allies in the east to counterbalance the formidable power which Cæsar was establishing in the west.

While thus engaged, Cicero learned that the Parthians did not contemplate an inroad into Cappadocia, but were rather threatening Cilicia from the side of Syria; accordingly, sending an urgent request for reinforcements to the Senate and magistrates of Rome, he hastened through a narrow pass of Mount Taurus to Tarsus, where he arrived on the 5th of October, and thence proceeded to the Amanus.¹ Here he learned that the Parthians had been driven out of Antioch by Cassius, and that Bibulus had arrived in Syria.*² A division of the barbarian force had before this penetrated into Cilicia, whilst the main body of the army had advanced to Antioch; but they had been driven back by the Roman cavalry and a prætorian cohort stationed at Epiphania. Cicero was now so far relieved from his anxiety, that he was able to write to Deiotarus, already on his way to succour him with a large force, informing him that his assistance was not needed.³

Resolved, however, that his expedition to Amanus should not be wholly without effect, he set about exterminating the wild mountain hordes who inhabited this district. These barbarians lived in a constant state of warfare with the Romans, and their destruction would be

* Comp. Dio Cass. xi. 28, 29. Cicero says, "The news of my approach raised the courage of Cassius, who was shut up in Antioch, and infused fear into the Parthians, so that they quitted the city, and Cassius pursued them successfully." *Ep.* 228, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.) In a letter to Cælius, *Ep.* 226. (*Div.* ii. 10.), Cicero does not take the credit of this action to himself.

¹ *Epp.* 221.; 228.; 238. (*Div.* xv. 2.; *Att.* v. 20.; *Div.* xv. 4.)
² *Epp.* 226, 2.; 238, 1. (*Div.* ii. 10.; xv. 4.)

³ *Epp.* 226, 2.; 238, 1. (*Div.* ii. 10.; xv. 4.)

an immense boon to the neighbouring provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero made use of a stratagem to effect his purpose. Leaving the mountains, he took a day's journey homewards, and pitched his camp at Epiphania. In the dusk of evening, on the 12th of October, he suddenly turned round, and, after a rapid night-march, arrived on the Amanus by break of day on the 13th. His legates, amongst whom Quintus himself was present, displayed great ability; and the enemy, taken completely by surprise, were mostly cut to pieces; the remainder were intercepted in their flight and made prisoners. Erana, their principal stronghold, two other places, and six castles, after some resistance, fell into the hands of Pomptinius; of these, several were burnt and their defenders destroyed. Cicero then conducted his troops to the foot of the mountain, and caused them to encamp on the spot where the altars yet stood which commemorated the victory of Alexander at Issus. Here his soldiers saluted him Imperator. The four days here spent were devoted to more thoroughly exterminating the mountain tribes, and devastating their country.¹

Encouraged by the successful result of his expedition to the Amanus, and eager, no doubt, by the acquisition of fresh military honours, to ensure to himself a yet more brilliant reception in Rome, Cicero now resolved to effect the reduction of Pindenissus. This stronghold, which was situated on the summit of a hill in the "Free Cilicia," was inhabited by a wild and stubborn people, who, confiding in the natural and artificial strength of their position, had never submitted to the sovereigns of the country, and were wont to afford shelter to Roman fugitives. They now hailed with joy the anticipated arrival of the Parthians. The honour of the Roman people, Cicero thought, demanded the chastisement of such

¹ *Epp.* 238. 1.; 226, 1.; 228, 1. (*Div.* xv. 4.; ii. 10.; *Att.* v. 20.)

insolence, and he accordingly proceeded to lay regular siege to their fortress. He dug trenches, constructed ramparts and palisades, erected towers for assault, and was amply provided with missiles and catapults. The place held out seven and forty days*, and many of the besiegers were wounded; but at length, on the 19th of December, it surrendered, and was utterly destroyed, and the entire plunder, horses and all, given up to the soldiers. Thus, far from their homes, did they celebrate the festival of the Saturnalia. The inhabitants were sold for slaves, and a sum of twelve million of sesterces was thus realized by the State.† The Tibarani, a neighbouring tribe resembling in character the vanquished Pindenissians, gave hostages, and the army now retired to winter quarters in Cilicia; Quintus Cicero receiving instructions to distribute the troops throughout the regions whose fidelity to the

¹ *Epp.* 228, 1.; 238, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.; *Div.* xv. 4.) Romans was suspected.¹

Relating his exploits to Atticus, Cicero writes: "Pindenissus! You will ask, 'What sort of place is that? I have never even heard its name before.' What can I do? Can I change Cilicia into Ætolia or Macedonia? Or what more mighty achievement can you expect from such an army as mine?"² In the same letter he jestingly observes: "For several days [after the reduction of the tribes of Amanus] my camp was pitched on the ground which Alexander occupied near Issus; a somewhat greater general than you or I." When we find Cicero, notwithstanding the modest tone in which he here speaks of his

² *Epp.* 228, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.)

* *Epp.* 228, 1.; 238, 1. (*Att.* v. 20.; *Div.* xv. 4.) In the letter to Cato he assigns fifty-seven days to the duration of the siege. But the accuracy of the earlier letter addressed to Atticus is more to be relied upon, and the account there given tallies better with the other dates.

† The advantage which avaricious governors took of opportunities such as these to fill their coffers may be easily imagined. [12,000,000 *sestertii* = about 105,000*l.*]

services, soliciting for them a public thanksgiving, we must remember that this, and the honour of a future triumph, were all he looked for as the reward of the great sacrifice he had made to the State in undertaking his provincial government. Let us hear, also, his own declaration to Cato, whom he had begged to second his request: "If ever natural disposition, reason and education combined to render a man indifferent to empty praise and the idle talk of the multitude, it is so with me. Witness my Consulate, during which I ever aimed at the pursuit of true glory, although, for its own sake, I cared not for it. Thus, I declined a province of the first rank and the certainty of a triumph. I made no efforts to obtain the priesthood, which lay within my grasp; but after I had been assailed by that injustice which you persist in calling a public calamity, but which I regard rather as the source of true honour than as a misfortune, then I exerted myself to the best of my abilities to earn the good opinion of both Senate and people."¹ Notwithstanding this assertion, it <sup>*Ep. 238, 2.*
(Div. xv. 4.)</sup> is very certain that Cicero was far from despising glory for its own sake, and that he never mentions his own exploits either in the letter before us or elsewhere, but in an exaggerated tone of self-laudation. After his exile he strained every nerve to regain his former ascendancy, and doubtless, in so doing, he believed himself to be, at the same time, benefiting the State. Of this, his letter to Luceius, amongst many others, affords abundant proof, whilst it also betrays his vanity. We are not inclined to judge so severely of this failing as some do. Cicero erred unquestionably in thinking it possible to regain the influence he had enjoyed during his Consulate; for the times were altered, and it was a Cæsar who now held supreme sway; but his grand mistake was that he continued to believe in the Roman republic after its doom was sealed.

Yet this error is, after all, more pardonable than the presumption with which, after the event, we are apt to judge of him.

Cato's letter, in answer to Cicero's request, in which he wishes him joy of his *supplicatio*, after having himself opposed the decree of the Senate by which it had been granted him, is well worthy of our attention.¹ It is written in the laconic style which we should expect from Cato, but, at the same time, with a degree of artifice for which we are unprepared. The characters of the two statesmen could not be better portrayed than in these two letters. We behold, on the one hand, the zealous republican asserting his maxims in contradiction to the spirit of the age, and, on the other, the cautious Optimate seeking, by careful observation of times and circumstances, to win his way to the goal.

Cæsar, who supported the demands of Cicero, rejoiced in the adverse course adopted by Cato, which he hoped would alienate the Proconsul, and indispose him to co-operate in any opposition Cato might raise to his own schemes. Cicero, though he dissembled his feelings, was in truth angry, and the more so as Cato had exerted himself to procure a *supplicatio* of twenty days for his son-in-law Bibulus, though Cassius had in fact been the principal author of the recent successes in Syria, while Bibulus had in his own person sustained a defeat from the Parthians.²

Yet had the services of Bibulus been of no slight importance in the judgment of all unprejudiced persons. He had succeeded in fomenting discord among the Parthians, and had thus averted the war, which threatened to break out at a season of the year highly disadvantageous to the Roman arms; for the enemy with their leader Orodes remained throughout the winter in the territory of the Republic.³ We will conclude our observations on Cicero's conduct in

¹ *Ep.* 266.
(*Div.* xv. 5.)

² *Epp.* 278.;
293, 6.; 228, 1.
(*Div.* xv. 6.;
Att. vii. 3.; v.
20.)

³ *Ep.* 250, 2.
(*Att.* v. 21.);
Dio Cass.
xl. 30.

this affair with an extract from Cato's letter. "I obey," he says, "with pleasure, the dictates of the State and of our mutual friendship, which both call upon me to rejoice in seeing your conduct in foreign command marked by the virtue, zeal and integrity which ever characterized your dealings in the highest matters at home."¹ If we are in-<sup>1 Ep. 266.
(Div. xv. 5.)</sup>clined to distrust Cicero's praise of himself, these words of Cato will at least carry their due authority.

We have been the more impelled to quote this testimony, referring as it no doubt does more to Cicero's merits as governor of a province than as a general, from the comparison which is forced upon us at this time between him and the great commander of his day. Whilst by the chastisement of an insignificant tribe of mountaineers Cicero deemed himself entitled to sue for a triumph, and had received from his soldiers the title of Imperator, Cæsar, who was destined to give such a new and immense significance to the term, was in the act of completing the Gallic war, and was thereby laying the foundation of his future greatness. It is not however fair to compare the two in their individual character; we should rather reflect on the relative positions they occupied, the one as the hero and creative spirit of the present, the other as the champion of the past, and that under every disadvantage. If the age he lived in and the native superiority of his genius, gave the palm of success to Cæsar, yet does Cato's judgment bear irrefragable testimony to the real greatness of Cicero, destined though he was by circumstances to discomfiture.

The year 703, at the end of which we are now arrived, was a critical era in the fortunes of Cæsar and of the Roman world. The Consul M. Marcellus, a leading Optimate, made a decided stand against the great general, and demanded his recall from Gaul before the expiration of his term. The scruples of Pompeius and the modera-

tion of the other Consul combined with the intervention of some of the Tribunes to prevent the adoption of this hazardous measure for the present.¹ But to Cicero, and to all discerning men, it was evident that the long threatened storm would soon burst. Writing to Thermus, Proprætor of Asia, he says: "Who knows what times may be in store for Rome? I look for stormy days."² But gloomy as might be the forebodings awakened in his breast by the tidings Cælius sent him from Rome, he was not one to lose all presence of mind at the approach of danger. There were moments when the state of affairs seemed to him less desperate, and throughout this and the following year he continued to discharge the duties of his office with undiminished zeal. Nor had his natural cheerfulness forsaken him, as we see from many of his letters to Atticus during this period, but especially from one addressed to Pætus³, the lively and amiable companion who had it so often in his power to cheer him in after days. Very interesting also is a letter he wrote to Volumnius, in which he playfully reproves his friend for not watching assiduously enough over his "farm," the salt works of Rome.*⁴ Referring to different witty sayings, the authorship of which had been erroneously ascribed to him during his absence from the city, he says: "I thought the various characters of my wit were so well defined that every one must immediately recognize them;" and again: "My wit is an estate I will sedulously maintain."

It was well for him that he possessed so much natural gaiety, for a new and harassing business awaited him in the beginning of the year 704, whilst he was still apprehensive of a war with the Parthians⁵, who were wintering in Cyrrhestica, a district of Roman Syria. On the 5th of January, having finished his campaign, Cicero broke up

¹ *Ep.* 223, 3,
4. (*Div.* viii.
8.)

² *Ep.* 258.
(*Div.* ii. 18.)

Ep. 246.
Div. ix. 25.)

⁴ *Ep.* 229.
(*Div.* vii. 32.)

⁵ *Epp.* 250, 2;
254.; 256, 4.
(*Att.* v. 21.;
Div. xiii. 57.;
Att. vi. 2.)

* *Possessio salinarum mearum.*

from Tarsus, and, to the great surprise of the Cilicians, and, above all, of the inhabitants of Tarsus*, proceeded to visit the Asiatic cities of his province. By them his coming was eagerly anticipated; for the beneficial effects of his administration had penetrated to these regions; and during the five months of his government which had already elapsed, the inhabitants had enjoyed an exemption from any burdensome rescript, and had had no troops quartered upon them—an immunity which the rich towns had been in the habit of purchasing with enormous sums.† It was now their turn to experience, in common with the rest of Cilicia, how different their present governor was from any of his predecessors. They witnessed his earnest endeavours to lessen the burdens of the Provincials to the utmost, and his careful attention to the interests of all classes. In a letter to Atticus, recently quoted, he says: “In Cyprus (I speak the simple truth, without exaggeration) not a single farthing shall be spent on my account.”¹ The presents offered him by the native sovereigns were all returned, and, in addition to his other benefits, he averted a threatened scarcity, and established a moderate and regular rate of interest. For all this, he would only allow the people to testify their gratitude and admiration in words. It is thus we find him exemplifying, in his own person, the character of the good and upright governor which he had drawn, many years before, for the edification of his brother.²

¹ *Epp.* 250, 5, 6.; 252, 3. (*Att.* v. 21.; vi. 1.); *Plut.* *Cic.* 36.

² *Ep.* 29. (*Qu. fr.* i. 1.)

* *Ipse in Asiam profectus sum Tarso.* *Ep.* 250, 5. (*Att.* v. 21.) The line of the Taurus divided Cilicia Proper and Pisidia from Lycaonia and Pamphylia. The Cilician Proconsulate comprised all four districts, but the two latter only were popularly included in the term Asia, which in its restricted sense was confined to the western part of the great peninsula of Asia Minor.]

† The Cypriotes, apparently under the administration of Appius, had given 200 Attic talents.

He now devoted himself to the administration of justice and internal affairs. During February and March he held assizes in Laodicea for the inhabitants of Cybira, Apamea, Synnada, Pamphylia, Lycaonia and Isauria. Before his departure from Taurus, he had despatched Q. Volusius, a man on whose integrity he could rely, to Cyprus, to transact the legal business of the few Roman citizens who traded in the island. Part of May and June he destined for the affairs of Cilicia.¹ During his sojourn amongst them, many of the cities were relieved, some entirely, but all to a great extent, of their burden of debt. Justice was dealt to all according to their respective codes of law, and their prosperity began to revive with the recovery of their freedom. Not content with abstaining in his own person, and that of his officers, from inflicting any burden upon them, he managed quietly, and without public scandal, to bring their native magistrates to account for their embezzlements. By these means the cities were enabled to discharge their debt of ten years' standing to the Publicans², a class whose interests it was but natural that Cicero should guard, belonging, as it did, to the Equestrian order. By another judicious enactment, all those who were paying more than the now authorized rate of 12 per cent. interest were to be let off with this more moderate rate, provided they paid it within a given time, while such as failed to do this were to be held to their original compact. This arrangement was advantageous to the Publicans, who preferred a certain though lesser gain to the risk of more exorbitant usury.³

Cicero was accessible to all men, and unlike his predecessors caused everything to be brought immediately to himself, without employing the medium of a confidential slave. Before daybreak he walked up and down in front of his dwelling, as he used to do in Rome when canvassing

¹ *Ep.* 250, 7.
(*Att.* v. 21.)

² *Ep.* 256, 3.
(*Att.* vi. 2.)

³ *Ep.* 252, 13.
(*Att.* vi. 1.)

for honours.¹ His hospitality and munificence won all hearts.* “I see you,” he writes to Atticus, “rejoicing in my moderation and forbearance. You would rejoice still more were you here with me.” And in another letter: “I am in no way burdensome to the cities, although perhaps I may be so to you whilst I go on praising myself. Bear with me if you love me, for you wished me thus to act.”²

In the letter from Laodicea which was written on the 5th of March, he says: “I am glad you approve of my conduct towards Appius. He wrote me two or three letters on his journey home full of reproaches for my having abolished some of his regulations. As the physician who has to surrender his patient to another, resents the adoption of a different treatment from his own, so Appius is sometimes grateful, sometimes angry, when he sees the province beginning to revive after he had reduced it to death’s door. I do nothing, however, at which he has any right to be annoyed. It is the dissimilarity between our course of action which offends him; and what greater contrast can there be indeed than between my administration and his? What shall I say of his prefects, legates and companions, and of their extortions and iniquities? But now no household can be governed with more prudence and discipline, or can present a more orderly appearance than my whole province does.”³

The late Proconsul behaved with the utmost arrogance towards the successor whose merits so far surpassed his own. One community having complained of a heavy tax imposed by its magistrates for the erection of a monu-

* Plut. *Cic.* 36. “Cicero entertained the principal men of the province every day at his own house, in a style of liberality though not of magnificence. No porter was required to grant admission. The Proconsul himself was never to be found in bed; but always to be seen by early morning standing at his door, or walking up and down before his house, ready to receive every one with cordiality.”

ment in honour of Appius, Cicero caused the works to be stopped, till he had taken the matter more fully into consideration.¹ With equal zeal he espoused the interests of the Provincials, on occasion of their sending an honorary deputation to their late governor in Rome. The indignation of Appius was roused by the distorted accounts given him of Cicero's conduct in both these transactions, and he addressed angry remonstrances to him on his journey homewards, which, conscious of the integrity of his motives, Cicero emphatically repelled.² He did not wish, however, to bring their differences to a rupture, for Appius enjoyed high consideration in Rome; his name stamped him as a leading Optimate, and Pompeius was at some pains to secure him as a partizan.³ During his Proconsulate Appius would seem to have done his best to secure that statesman's influence among the rulers of Asia. Meanwhile, his conduct in the administration of his late province could not remain either unknown or unblamed in Rome, and as soon as he had arrived before the gates of the city, Dolabella, an ambitious and enterprising patrician, and a zealous adherent of Cæsar, impeached him, first, of *Majestas*, as having acted on several occasions in a manner derogatory to the dignity of the Roman Commonwealth; and secondly, of bribery in his suit for the Consulship.⁴ Confiding, however, in the support of Pompeius and of his own party, and firmly persuaded that Cicero, who might have furnished the most convincing testimonies against him, would abstain from producing them, he entered the city, renouncing the triumph which doubtless would have been accorded him, and confronted his accuser.⁵ Dolabella had been recently separated from his wife, and was now preferring his suit to Tullia.* His ingrati-

¹ *Epp.* 244, 2.; 249, 1. (*Div.* iii. 7. 9.)

² *Ep.* 222, 1. (*Div.* iii. 8.)

³ *Ep.* 256, 6 (*Att.* vi. 2.)

⁴ *Ep.* 242, 1. (*Div.* viii. 6.)

Epp. 261, 1.; 249, 2.; 242, 1. (*Div.* iii. 10. 9.; viii. 6.)

* Before Tullia's betrothal to Dolabella, Tib. Claudius Nero, afterwards the husband of the celebrated Livia, had applied to Cicero in Cilicia for

ating manners won her consent, to the no small embarrassment of her father, who did not wish to be considered a party to the present impeachment. From the apologetic epistle he addressed to Appius¹, and another to Cælius², ^{¹ Ep. 275, 2. (Div. iii. 12.); comp. 261, 1. (Div. iii. 10.)} it appears how little it cost him, when a political friendship was at stake, not only to conceal his true sentiments, ^{² Ep. 257, 2. (Div. iii. 10.)} but to express the very opposite. His testimony was of the greatest service to Appius, who was honourably acquitted, and the upright governor of Cilicia sent his congratulations on the event, as though the accused had been the most innocent of men.³ Soon after this, Appius³ ^{³ Epp. 265, 1.; 275, 1. (Div. iii. 2. 12.)} was appointed Censor in conjunction with Cæsar's father-in-law Calpurnius Piso. He exercised the utmost rigour in the discharge of his new duties; and amongst the first of those whom he turned out of the Senate was the historian Sallust.⁴

Our indignation at Cicero's flattery of Appius is in some degree modified by the following words addressed to Atticus: "If, as it would appear from your letter to Brutus, Appius expresses himself gratefully towards me, I am pleased to hear it. But even on the very day I am writing this before dawn, I am thinking of reversing many of his unjust regulations and edicts."⁵ ^{⁴ Epp. 279.; 280, 3. (Div. viii. 12. 14.); Dio Cass. xi. 63.}

Though the manners and exigencies of the times may be allowed to form some excuse for Cicero's conduct*, it is with pain we see others whose names adorn the page of history, and whom we are wont to admire as the champions of liberty, not merely tainted but deeply imbued

his daughter's hand. The father was favourable to his suit, and sent trustworthy messengers to his wife and daughter, but the latter was already betrothed.

* *Sic vivitur* is Cicero's expression to Cælius in speaking of his relations with Appius. Ep. 273, 2. (Div. ii. 15.)

with the general corruption. A certain M. Scaptius who had large pecuniary claims on the inhabitants of Salamis, in Cyprus, and had been strongly recommended by Brutus to Cicero's protection, presented himself before the Proconsul in the camp in Cilicia, in the autumn of the year 703, and urgently sought assistance in the recovery of his debts. Cicero promised his aid, but refused the application for the prefecture which was made at the same time, agreeably to the rule he had laid down, never to confer that office on any one engaged in money transactions; for a prefect of this kind received from the governor a certain number of soldiers, and had it thus in his power by main force to extort payment. Scaptius had himself received the prefecture of Cyprus from Appius, who was father-in-law to Brutus, and had employed his troop of horse to shut up the senators of Salamis in their Curia, until five of them perished of starvation. Cicero having been informed of this barbarity by envoys sent to meet him at Ephesus, had immediately recalled the troop of horse from the island, a proceeding by which Scaptius considered himself highly aggrieved. When other deputies from Salamis appeared with Scaptius himself before the Proconsul in Taurus, Cicero urged them to liquidate their debt, threatening compulsion if they refused. The Salaminians declared themselves quite ready to perform his demands, and the more so as he had returned to them the sum they had brought him as a present, which exceeded the amount of their debt. Scaptius, however, and Martinius, his partner in the transaction, now demanded 48 per cent. interest, whereas by Cicero's late edict they were legally entitled to no more than 12, with the compound interest in addition. They appealed to their compact with the Salaminians, and to former decrees of the Senate, which had legalized transactions of this nature

rendering the law of Gabinius against usury in the provinces inapplicable to that particular case. And now for the first time Cicero discovered that Brutus was the real creditor; that the Salaminians having some time ago sought to raise a loan in Rome, and having met with various repulses in consequence of the Gabinian law, Brutus had at length agreed to furnish them with the sum wanted, but at an usurious rate of interest, and under cover of the names of Scaptius and Matinius. Cicero was alarmed at this discovery. If Scaptius gained his object, Salamis would be utterly ruined; on the other hand, after carefully examining the decrees of the Senate just referred to, he found that they did generally declare the demands of Brutus legal, and even allowed him to appeal to them, but at the same time gave him no legitimate authority to exact such exorbitant interest—at any rate Cicero did not hold himself bound by them.* Represent-

* It is difficult to ascertain the exact nature of this transaction. In Letter 250. the second decree passed by the Senate in favour of Brutus is given. *Non ut alio ea syngrapha esset quam ceteræ, sed ut eodem.* According to which it would appear that Brutus was entitled to claim the 48 per cent. interest. Cicero, however, continues, *quum hæc disseruissem;* which Wieland translates, “After I had declared the true meaning and intent of this decree.” The words will not well bear any other signification, and as thus interpreted they agree with the following passage in Letter 256.: *Vetabat Auli lex jus dici de ita sumta pecunia. Decrevit igitur Senatus, ut jus diceretur ista syngrapha. Nunc ista habet juris idem quod ceteræ, nihil præcipui.* I have given in the text what appears to me the most probable version of the affair. [The author’s language seems obscure. I believe the case to be this. The Gabinian law restricted exorbitant usury; and Cicero, acting in its spirit, published in his edict the rate which he would allow, namely 12 per cent., the interest if not paid to be added to the principal, ἀνατοκισμός. But the Provincials found it difficult to obtain loans from the Roman capitalists on such terms; and Brutus, through his agent Scaptius, had lent the Salaminians money at 48 per cent.; while, in order to secure himself, he had got the Senate to pass a decree, in contravention of the Gabinian law, to sanction his transaction and

ing this to Scaptius, he pressed him to come to an amicable arrangement, which the latter appeared not unwilling to do, although he sought to indemnify himself in another manner. The Salaminians, he privately informed Cicero, were under the delusion that they owed him two hundred talents, whereas their debt did not, in truth, quite reach that amount. He would be satisfied, he said, with the payment of that sum, and the ordinary interest upon it. Cicero, however, desired the deputies to produce their account in his presence; and this having been formally examined, it was discovered that their debt amounted only to one hundred and six talents. The Salaminians offered to pay this sum immediately, and implored Scaptius to receive the money, or at any rate to allow them to deposit it in the Temple, by which a stop would be put to the further accumulation of interest. Cicero took their part, and remained firm to the rule he had laid down with respect to the payment of interest. But so keen was his sense of what the Romans called *officia**, so anxious was he to maintain his friendly relations with Brutus, that he consented, at the request of Scaptius, to postpone the decision of the question, leaving it to devolve upon his successor, who might very possibly be less strict than himself.¹ After relating the affair to Atticus, he says: "There you have the whole matter. If Brutus disapproves of my conduct, I shall cease to care for his friendship. Of his uncle's approval I feel sure." It appears, however, from another letter, that he did not really feel this boasted indifference about the maintenance of his friendship with Brutus; and for Cato, we can hardly believe that he would have let the

¹ *Epp.* 252, 4.; 250, 8.; 256, 5.; 264, 3. (*Att.* vi. 1.; v. 21.; vi. 2, 3.)

engage succeeding Proconsuls to respect it. This decree of the Senate could not overrule a law of the Commonwealth, and accordingly Cicero was justified in refusing to be bound by it.]

* [*Officia*: social and moral duties, here used of the duties of friendship.]

matter rest, as Cicero did, when a single word from him would have secured justice to the Salaminians.

Thus even Cicero's justly vaunted Proconsulate cannot be exempted from censure. In his own estimation, however, he had acted with propriety, and he ventured to appeal to the conscience of Atticus for advocating the interests of Brutus. "What!" he writes, "you, the panegyrist of all that is correct and virtuous! 'have I heard from your mouth,' as Ennius says, the request that I would furnish Scaptius with a troop of horse to enable him to extort his claims? . . . Do you, whose image ever rises before me when I think on any thing just and honourable, do you ask me to make a Scaptius my prefect? . . . How could I, after that, ever again read or even touch the volumes you so eloquently praise?*" Ah! my beloved Atticus, herein you show too much affection for Brutus, and too little for me."¹

¹ *Ep.* 256.
(*Att.* vi. 2.)

That Cicero was really anxious to retain the friendship of Brutus, is evident from the pains he took to recover the money owed him by Ariobarzanes, whom he engaged to promise that the sum destined as a present to himself should be transmitted to him. But the king had another and a more formidable creditor in Pompeius; and though he paid him a monthly instalment of thirty-three Attic talents, this sum fell short of the simple interest due,^{† 2} ² *Ep.* 252, 3.
(*Att.* vi. 1.) and he despaired of ever being able to refund the original debt. Cicero nevertheless praised the clemency and forbearance of Pompeius, and though he commiserated the

* The work *de Republica*.

† [The king of Cappadocia was one of the poorest of monarchs. The resources of his country lay chiefly in the captives made in mountain warfare. *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.* (*Hor. Ep.* i. 6.) He had been placed on his throne, after many revolutions, by Pompeius, who made him pay dear for his support.]

¹ *Epp.* 256, 5.
(*Att.* vi. 2.)

unfortunate monarch, and saw how impossible it was for him to satisfy the demands of his creditors, he did not hesitate to urge upon him the claims of Brutus.¹ The case of Ariobarzanes is an example of the wretched condition to which the smaller sovereigns of Asia were reduced by the rapacity of their conquerors, and the enormous burdens imposed upon them under the name of military contributions and tribute.* By forestalments and the accumulation of interest on their arrears of debt, their affairs became more and more embarrassed, till they sank into a state of hopeless and irremediable insolvency.

During the year 704 Cicero continued to display all the activity required by his office. He carried on at the same time a brisk correspondence with his friends, and there are proportionably more letters belonging to this than to any other period of his life. He was careful also to preserve his interest with all the leading men in Rome, besides those with whom he was on terms of friendship. During his sojourn at Laodicea, in the months of March and April, we find him writing to Atticus before day-break; and one of his letters to his friend in the year previous he dictated in his carriage, while hastening to the

² *Epp.* 252, 2.; camp at Iconium.²

²⁵⁶, 6.: 209,
1. (*Att.* vi. 1,
2.; v. 17.)

After his return to Cilicia in May, Cicero remained for some time in the camp, for in spite of his exploits on Amanus, the country was still harassed by banditti. Anticipating the possibility of a renewal of the war by the Parthians, he exerted himself to put the army in a high state of discipline, and fixed his quarters where, in case of necessity, he could most easily march to the assistance of Bibulus, of whose unfriendly conduct towards himself he took no notice. In the end, however, his

³ *Epp.* 268, 1.; anxiety about the Parthians proved groundless.³

269, 2.; 271,
1. 2. (*Att.* vi.
4. 5.; *Div.* ii.
17.)

All this activity on Cicero's part proceeded from a

sense of duty, as well as from an honourable ambition, not from any real pleasure in the functions of government. "You cannot imagine how I long for the city, for my friends, and for you especially," he writes to Cælius from Laodicea in the April of 704: "I am heartily sick of the province; whether it be that my fame is already so high, I have now rather to dread its falling than expect it to rise; or that the employment itself is unworthy of my powers, competent and accustomed as I am to discharge the more onerous duties attached to public office; or, lastly, because a serious war is impending, which I shall escape if I am able to leave my government at the term assigned me."¹ Though we may deem such complaints unworthy of Cicero, we must admit it to be natural enough that a man possessed of his refined cultivation, and used to the intercourse of kindred spirits, animated too as he was by the keenest interest in the gravest affairs of state, should sigh for Rome, the seat of civilization, and the centre of political movement.* In this frame of mind he wrote to Cælius, "Venerate the city, my Rufus! and live in its light. From childhood I have deemed all foreign wanderings base and unworthy of those who can acquire fame in Rome."² In his anxiety to return thither, Cicero paid no heed to the storm which was lowering over it³; and whilst still at a distance from the city, he appears to have overlooked the rapid deterioration of public morals which must have taken place, when a curule Ædile and a Censor could openly accuse each other of the grossest immorality.†⁴

¹ *Ep.* 255, 1.
(*Div.* ii. 17.)

² *Ep.* 263, 2.
(*Div.* ii. 12.)

³ *Epp.* 258.;
278.; 263, 1.
(*Div.* ii. 18.;
xv. 6.; ii. 12.)

⁴ *Ep.* 279, 1.
(*Div.* viii. 12.)

* Even the common talk of the day which formed the topics of discussion in the social circles of the city was acceptable to Cicero. See *Ep.* 243. (*Div.* viii. 7.)

† The Censor was Appius, the Ædile Cælius Rufus, who in his letter to Cicero informs us of these charges.

Cicero's Proconsulate was at length drawing to an end, and, much to his satisfaction, the term of his government was not prolonged.¹ He was now busily engaged in preparing a statement of his accounts, copies of which, according to the Julian law, must be deposited in two of the cities of the province, and in the public treasury at home.² His successor had not yet been named, and as the province could not be left without a governor, the care of nominating one in the interval devolved upon him. His choice would have fallen upon Pomptinius, had he not already left the province. For several reasons he decided against Quintus, who had come there with reluctance, and whom he was moreover unwilling to leave behind in a situation full of danger and responsibility. He dreaded also the animadversions such an appointment would excite in Rome, where it would be said that he prolonged his own government in bequeathing it to his brother; and besides Quintus was a man of passionate temper, and might at once undo all the good he had been effecting.³ His Quæstor Mescinius, on the other hand, was judged by all unworthy of the office; and at last he was forced to decide in favour of Cælius Caldus, who had been designated Quæstor, and had but just arrived in the province. The choice was hazardous, for Cælius was young, and gave no great promise, either moral or intellectual; but resolved as he was under any circumstances to leave his province on the appointed day⁴, Cicero had no alternative. He quieted his conscience with the reflection, that many governors had done the same thing, and, as is often the case with those who undertake a charge at the call of duty alone, he was disposed to place the strictest limits to his self-sacrifice.

Cicero's office expired on the 30th of July; on the 3rd of August we find him at Sida, on the coast of Pamphylia,

¹ *Ep.* 294, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 3.)

² *Ep.* 270.;
271, 1.; 302.
2. (*Att.* vi. 7.;
Div. ii. 17.;
v. 29.)

³ *Ep.* 256, 1.
(*Att.* vi. 2.)

⁴ *Ep.* 264, 1.;
276, 4.; 273,
4. (*Att.* vi. 3.
6.; *Div.* ii.
15.)

prepared to embark for Greece.¹ He set forth cheerfully on his homeward journey. But unmixed joy never falls to the share of man, and we hear him complaining to Atticus, “Vain and transitory was all the glory which attended my administration at the outset, and which you lauded to the skies in your letters. How far from easy is the practice of virtue! how difficult is it long to wear its mask! witness the discontent manifested by my followers, because, agreeably to what I hold to be just and honourable, I have deducted the salary of the Quæstor Cælius from the sum decreed to myself, and have deposited a million sesterces in the treasury, which they imagined was to be divided amongst themselves. . . . They could not shake my determination, however, for my own fame was dearer to me than their gratification.”*²

¹ *Ep.* 275, 3. (*Div.* iii. 12.); comp. 264, 1.; 269, 2. (*Att.* vi. 3. 5.)

² *Ep.* 284. (*Att.* vii. 4.)

Though considerations of this nature may have had power to disturb Cicero's peace of mind, in the seasons of despondency to which with his irritable temperament he must have been liable, there was much to afford him satisfaction in his retrospect of the past year. He had made a fresh and a great stride, and raised himself to a level with his superiors both in birth and age. This he felt when he wrote the remarkable letter to Appius, protesting against his unjust reproaches. “Before,” he says, “I had reached what men consider the greatest of honours, I never admired you for the names you bear; I judged the men great who bequeathed those names to you. But after I had myself attained the highest dignity of the Republic, and

* It appears that Cicero carried his disinterestedness so far as to live, for a considerable time at least, at his own expense in the province. See *Ep.* 207. (*Att.* v. 15.) How conscientiously he acted with regard to booty we learn from *Ep.* 271. (*Div.* ii. 17.) However, he gained no inconsiderable sum during his government, as we find from *Ep.* 386. (*Att.* xi. 1.) [Such is the interpretation we naturally put upon the words *Habeo in cistophoro in Asia H. S. bis et vicies*, a sum equal to about 20,000*l.*]

borne it as I imagined so as to exalt my reputation to the utmost, I hoped to have ranked henceforth as your equal, I will not say as your superior. And indeed both Pompeius whom I honour above all men, and P. Lentulus whom I prefer to myself, appear to have held the same opinion.”¹ He had another and nobler cause for satisfaction in the consciousness of having performed a difficult duty. If we are willing to allow him this merit, the following words addressed to Atticus will not fail to afford us pleasure. “Never in my life have I enjoyed so much satisfaction as I now derive from the consciousness of my integrity. The fame I have earned gives me less pleasure than the remembrance of the conduct by which I gained it.”² Nor, after examining the government of the Proconsul, can we disparage as mere idle boasting the words that follow: “What I have done is worthy of the volumes which you esteemed so highly.* Cities preserved — a rich tribute of gratitude earned from the Publicans — no man outraged by lawless acts — few even injured by the necessary severity of justice — finally, exploits that deserve a triumph.”³ The preparatory honour of a supplication he had already obtained under flattering circumstances, though, as we have seen, against the wishes of Cato and his imitator Favonius; and his friends now held out to him hopes of a triumph.⁴

We learn little of Cicero’s domestic affairs from the letters of this period, beyond the fact of Tullia’s marriage. Unfortunately, none of those addressed to his wife or daughter remain to us. The intercourse between Quintus and Pomponia had again become much disturbed, as Cicero himself had occasion to observe during his journey to the province; and whilst Quintus was in Asia a separation seemed to be impending. Their son, however, succeeded in once more establishing harmony between

¹ *Ep.* 244, 3.
(*Div.* iii. 7.)

² *Ep.* 228, 2.
(*Att.* v. 20.)

³ *Ep.* 264, 1.
(*Att.* vi. 3.)

⁴ *Epp.* 267, 1.;
263, 2.; 276,
5. (*Div.* viii.
11.; ii. 1, 2;
Att. vi. 6.)

* The books *de Republica*.

them.¹ This young man, though endowed with several great qualities, appears to have inherited from both his parents a highly irritable temperament, and he already at times occasioned his uncle much trouble. He and his cousin Marcus agreed very well with each other, — all the better perhaps from their difference of disposition. “The boys are good friends,” Cicero writes to Atticus; “they study together, and perform the same tasks; but one requires the bridle, the other the spur. Their instructor Dionysius I esteem highly, although the boys declare that he is extremely passionate.”² The young Quintus received the gown of manhood from his uncle’s hands at Laodicea.³

¹ *Epp.* 184, 3.; 256, 1.; 270. (*Att.* v. 1.; vi. 2. 7.); comp. 264, 1. (*Att.* vi. 3.)

² *Ep.* 252, 1. (*Att.* vi. 1.)

³ *Epp.* 228, 4.; 252, 9. (*Att.* v. 20.; vi. 1.)

It is pleasant to hear expressions of love and tenderness from the mouth of the Proconsul, in the midst of his absorbing cares and anxieties; as, for instance, when he speaks of his friend’s little daughter*, whom he had not yet seen⁴, and of his beloved Tiro, “the purest and most industrious of young men”⁵, whose health was matter of such grave concern to him. Philotimus, his wife’s freedman, occasioned him much annoyance. Cicero had reason to suspect his honesty in some money transactions†; nor is it unlikely that the circumstances which led subse-

⁴ *Ep.* 220, 4. (*Att.* v. 19.)

⁵ *Ep.* 270. (*Att.* vi. 7.)

* Pomponia, afterwards the wife of Agrippa and mother-in-law of the Emperor Tiberius.

† These transactions were connected principally with the purchase of some property of Milo’s which Cicero had effected under the name of Philotimus. Milo was himself at that time in banishment, and his estates were being disposed of in favour of his creditors. He expressed himself dissatisfied with this proceeding, under the impression that the freedman was the actual purchaser (*Ep.* 193.); and Cicero has been suspected by modern authors of not having acted altogether so disinterestedly as he would lead one to suppose in the letter referred to above. (Comp. 203, 2.) We cannot, however, presume to blame him for a transaction the exact nature of which is so obscure.

quently to his separation from Terentia . were already beginning to operate.

There are eighty-three letters belonging to this period ; and these may perhaps be considered the most interesting of the whole collection, on account of the circumstances and events of which they treat, and the celebrity of the persons to whom they are for the most part addressed, nor less from the living picture they present us of the writer, whose mean and noble qualities are equally laid bare in them. Twenty-eight of the set are addressed to Atticus, who was sometimes at Rome, and more frequently in Epirus during the years 703 and 704, and may be considered as forming a complete diary of Cicero's journey and his residence in the province. Whilst these letters afford a specimen of the confidential and unreserved intercourse existing between Cicero and Atticus, the twelve addressed to Appius contain a living image of the political friendships of the time. The following passage is worth noting, referring to the complaints made by Appius of the reproachful tone of some of Cicero's letters to him : " If, as you say, these letters were ill expressed, then you need only believe that they were not really mine. For, as Aristarchus disclaims for Homer every verse in the Homeric poems of which he disapproves, so I would have you reject as not mine whatever displeases you in my writings." ¹ " These words," he adds, " are meant in jest ;" but we accept them in earnest as a capital illustration of the character of the class of writings to which Cicero's correspondence with his political friends belongs.

Two pieces of the collection addressed " To the Consuls, Prætors, Tribunes, and the whole Senate," are mere formal State documents.* ² The letters to M. Cato have

¹ *Ep.* 265, 4.
(*Div.* iii. 11.)

² *Epp.* 219.;
221. (*Div.* xv.
3. 1.)

* The account of his campaign in Cilicia, which, as we learn from *Ep.* 240. (*Div.* xv. 13.), he despatched to the Consuls, is unfortunately lost.

been already adverted to. One to C. Cassius¹ evinces <sup>*Ep. 241.*
(*Div. xv. 14.*)</sup> the friendly relations which had for some time subsisted between him and Cicero. Another to Curio² congratulates him on his approaching Tribunate, in which office he <sup>*Ep. 227.*
(*Div. ii. 7.*)</sup> so grievously disappointed his friend's expectations. Eight letters are addressed to M. Cælius, whom Cicero had formerly defended, and who was Tribune in the year 702 (in which office he had proposed the decree in Cæsar's favour before mentioned³), and curule Ædile in the ^{See p. 212.} year following. The remaining twenty-eight letters are less interesting, with the exception indeed of those to Volumnius and to Pætus, already described.⁴ They are <sup>*Epp. 229.;*
246. (Div. vii.
32.; ix. 25.)</sup> addressed to a variety of persons; to the actual Consuls, to those designated for the year 704, to whom Cicero found time to commend himself notwithstanding the multiplicity of his avocations, and also to Thermus and Silius, Proprætors of Asia and Bithynia. Some of these are mere letters of recommendation.

Besides the letters above enumerated, there are fifteen addressed to Cicero; fourteen of them by Cælius, not so finely written as Cicero's (they rather serve by their triviality to convince us of the other's superiority), yet valuable for their contents; and lastly, the characteristic note from Cato before mentioned.*⁵

When it is considered that a part, more or less conspicuous, is taken in these letters by all the leading statesmen of the day †, the propriety of ranking them amongst the most important of the whole collection will at once be conceded. Yet we have hardly touched upon the circumstance which gives them the greatest interest of all,

* These letters, ninety-eight in number, were written, with the exception of one to Appius from Rome which is dated in April, between the beginning of May 703 and September 704 inclusive.

† As Cæsar, Pompeius, Cato, Brutus, Cassius, Curio, Cælius, Appius, Bibulus, Dolabella.

⁵ *Ep. 266.*
(*Div. xv. 5.*)

namely, that in the two years in the course of which they were written the relations between Cæsar and Pompeius were decided.

The letters of Cælius are peculiarly valuable for the light they throw on this subject, and they constitute a principal source for the history of Rome during this period. We shall consider them more fully in the next book. The last of the series concludes with words remarkable in themselves, and full of foreboding to Cicero: "Unless one or the other (Cæsar or Pompeius) turns his arms against the Parthians, a grand struggle must ensue between the two, in which the sword will decide. Both are resolved and both prepared. A fine and (could it be without danger to yourself) an interesting spectacle is in store for you." ¹

¹ *Ep.* 280.
(*Deo.* viii. 14.)

BOOK VII.



LETTERS OF CICERO,

**FROM THE TIME OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM ASIA
TO THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA,**

IN THE YEARS

704—706. B. C. 50—48.



CÆSAR AND POMPEIUS.

BOOK VII.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 704. B. C. 50. CIC. 57.

L. ÆMILIUS PAULUS; C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

IN spite of the law of Cælius, passed in 702, the Senate deliberates on the recall of Cæsar. On the pretext of a war with the Parthians, two of his legions are withdrawn from him and given to Pompeius. Extraordinary honours are paid Pompeius on occasion of a severe illness by which he had been attacked at Naples. Curio the Tribune's proposition that Pompeius shall also be required to surrender his military force, is favourably received by it. The Consul Marcellus, however, prevents its adoption, and Curio sets out to join Cæsar at Ravenna.

A. U. 705. B. C. 49. CIC. 58.

C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, M. F.; L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.

At the commencement of this year, on the motion of Scipio, the Senate passes a decree that Cæsar shall dismiss his troops and enter the city as a private man. The intervention of the Tribunes M. Antonius and Q. Cassius being disregarded, they go over to Cæsar, who now crosses the Rubicon. Corfinium having surrendered to him, he advances to Brundisium, where Pompeius had assembled his forces, and takes the town by storm; not however until his adversary had gained the sea. After this, Cæsar

marches to Rome, which he enters on April 1st, makes some necessary arrangements, and on the 5th sets out in haste for Spain, in order to crush the Pompeians in that province. He leaves Trebonius before Massilia, subdues Afranius and Petreius, the legates of Pompeius, near Ilerda, and Marcus Varro in the Further province. Q. Cassius is left in command of the army in Spain. Cæsar returns to Massilia, which surrenders. On the 25th September*, while still absent, he is named Dictator on the proposition of M. Lepidus. He recalls the exiles of his party, extends the citizenship to the Transpadane Gauls, and holds Comitia for the elections of the ensuing year. He then lays down his Dictatorship. In the meanwhile C. Curio reduces Sicily, and crosses over into Africa, where his army is cut to pieces and himself slain by Juba, king of Numidia.

A. U. 706. B. C. 48. CIC. 59.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, 2 ; P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.

Early in this year Cæsar, with seven of his legions, crosses over from Brundisium into Greece, takes Oricum and Apollonia, where Pompeius had passed the winter, and there joins M. Antonius, who came to meet him with four legions. The war is carried on in the neighbourhood of Dyrrachium, and considerable enterprise and vigour displayed on both sides. Cæsar sustains some losses, but no regular engagement takes place. Pompeius leads his army, now increased in numbers, and double that of Cæsar, into Thessaly. His adversary follows him, and on the 9th August a pitched battle is fought between them at Pharsalia. Pompeius is signally defeated ; his camp is taken ; the vanquished army surrenders, and many of the principal officers take refuge in Africa. Pompeius himself

* The dates are here given according to the calendar of that period.

seeks shelter in Egypt, but is assassinated on first landing on its shores; Cæsar also betakes himself thither, and arrives on the 3rd October. Meanwhile M. Cælius attempts innovations in Rome; is banished the city by the Prætor Trebonius; joins Milo; is defeated, together with him, and slain. The Consulship for five years, the powers of the Tribunate for life, and the Dictatorship for one year, are conferred upon Cæsar: Antonius is his Magister Equitum.

If we glance back at the periods of Cicero's life with which we have been hitherto engaged, we find him, in the first, in the full vigour of his youthful aspirations, becoming initiated into the science of politics, and resting his fortunes upon Pompeius, with whom his future fate was bound up. Letters he cannot renounce, though it is not in them he is to find the presiding influences of his life. In the second period we perceive those principles take root in him to the maintenance of which he will henceforth devote himself; and the affair of Clodius leads us to prognosticate the firm stand he will make for the Optimates. In the third period, that of Cæsar's Consulship, it becomes manifest that Cicero is not a match for the times; and in the fourth we see him undergoing the inevitable fate of the man who attempts to arrest the wheel of time in its progress. In the fifth we see him painfully striving to regain the position he had once enjoyed; but he owes all his success to the generosity of Cæsar, whose ambitious schemes it has been the object of his life to thwart. In the period last under review, we have beheld him emulating the virtues of ancient Rome, and acting the Proconsul so as to deserve the triumph. But at this moment we grieve at seeing weapons thrust into Cæsar's

hand, which must overthrow the maxims of Cicero, together with the Republic herself.

An alliance between two such men as Cæsar and Pompeius could not long exist; and many circumstances, some of which have been already mentioned, conspired to produce an actual rupture between them. With Julia, the daughter of Cæsar and wife of Pompeius, whom Velleius calls the pledge of concord between the rivals¹, the guardian angel had departed who so often in the form of woman watches over the passions of men; and her death was soon followed by that of the son whose birth had occasioned it. The subsequent marriage of Pompeius with the daughter of Scipio, a vehement Optimate, must have been highly displeasing to Cæsar, who could not fail also to be dissatisfied with his third Consulship in proportion as it gratified the Senate, which recovered, through his power and devotion to it, a shadow of its ancient dignity. Cæsar was particularly irritated at the investigation which, in the plenitude of his power, Pompeius now instituted into all public offences during the last twenty years; a period which embraced his own Consulate.² Gabinius and Memmius, both of whom he had favoured, were banished: many of the accused immediately went over to him, and he now became the rallying point for the adversaries of Pompeius, whilst the Senate thanked their champion and granted him two new legions. Cæsar regarded the right of suing for the Consulship while absent from Rome; which Pompeius accorded him in 702, as a necessary concession made by his rival in consideration of his own enormous powers. He had obtained in 699 an extension of his Proconsulate for five years, and had also, with the sanction of the Senate, raised some new legions, partly at his own cost, so that his whole number now reached twelve. He doubled the pay of the soldiers: the people

¹ Vell. Pater. ii. 47.; Appian, B. C. ii. 24.

Appian, l. c.

he had studied to gain by all kind of means, and the same with the provinces and the kings in alliance with Rome.¹

¹ Dio Cass. xl. 60.; Suet. Jul. 26. 28.

In the year 703 the developement of the grand tragedy advanced apace. In the beginning of May, whilst Cicero was still in Italy on his way to Cilicia, the Consul Marcellus, who was a determined opponent of Cæsar and a warm supporter of Pompeius, took the sense of the Senate as to the recall of Cæsar, and found it favourably disposed towards the measure.² Its adoption was, however, hin-

² Ep. 185, 3. (Att. v. 3.)

dered by the intervention of some of the Tribunes, and, in fact, the period of Cæsar's Proconsulate had not yet legally expired.* The Consul resolutely ignored the law of Cælius† allowing Cæsar to sue for the Consulship while absent. In his violence, and to show his scorn for Cæsar, he caused a man to be scourged, who, as a citizen of Novum Comum, a colony planted by Cæsar in Transpadane Gaul, and having served a magistracy therein, was entitled to Latin citizenship, and was under Cæsar's patronage; claims which Marcellus, however, refused to recognize.³ Whether, according to Appian, Cæsar had again applied for a prolongation of office, or whether, as Suetonius relates, the uneasiness of Marcellus increased when he saw kings, provinces, and citizens of note all drawn within the sphere of his attraction, he once more urged his recall in the Senate, the war in Gaul being concluded; and also moved that he should not be allowed to sue for the Consulship while absent.⁴ It was likewise in agitation to deprive

³ Ep. 198, 2. (Att. v. 11.); Appian, ii. 26.; Suet. Jul. 28.; Plut. Cæs. 29.

⁴ Cæs. B. G. viii. 53.; Appian, ii. 25.; Dio Cass. xl. 59.; Suet. Juv. 28.

* Comp. Hirtius, *de Bell. Gall.* viii. 53., who says that the majority of the Senate were against Marcellus; unless, indeed, there is some confusion between this affair and that related by Cælius in *Ep.* 272, 2. (*Div.* viii. 13.)

† In fact this law of Cælius was in direct contradiction to another passed by Pompeius himself; but the copy of the latter, which had been deposited in the treasury, contained an exception in favour of Cæsar. This exception, however, Marcellus asserted to be of no legal force.

¹ *Ep.* 223, 3.
(*Div.* viii. 8.)

him of some of his veterans¹; but Pompeius, though he had thrown off the mask of friendship with Cæsar, could not yet venture on such vigorous measures, and the Consul Sulpicius, a sensible and moderate man, shrank from irritating Cæsar. At length, on the last day of September, it was resolved that the Consuls for the ensuing year should again bring forward the motion on the 1st of March following. Any intercession to thwart it was deprecated with menaces, a clause to which some of the Tribunes refused their consent.* Pompeius, who had been heard to say that all men must obey the Senate², expressed himself to the effect, that before the 1st of March next he could not without injustice come to any resolution with respect to Cæsar's provinces, but that after that time he should no longer hesitate. To the question, "What if any one should intercede?" he replied, "It would be the same thing whether Cæsar himself disobeyed the Senate, or whether he instigated others to obstruct the decree." "But what," suggested another, "if Cæsar resolves to become Consul, and yet retains his army?" "What," exclaimed Pompeius, "if my own son were to threaten me with the cudgel?" We see plainly what a position Pompeius conceived himself to occupy relatively to Cæsar. His wish was so to manage matters, as that the latter should return to Rome as a private man, after resigning his Proconsular power, and in that capacity sue if he would for the Consulship. But he forgot how improbable it was, that whilst he himself had been suffered as Consul to retain possession of Spain, and was also still enjoying

² *Ep.* 206.
(*Div.* viii. 4.)

* [The words of this decree are inserted in the letters of Cælius, 223. On this point it said: *Senatum existimare neminem eorum qui potestatem habent intercedendi, impediendi, moram offerre oportere, quo minus de republica ad Senatum referri, Senatque consultum fieri possit. Qui impedierit, prohibuerit, eum Senatum existimare contra rempublicam fecisse.*]

he command of that province with its army, his rival should quietly concede to him such an advantage over himself; or that, after his exploits in Gaul, he should consent to forfeit all power and yield himself a prey to his enemies, by resigning the devoted soldiers whom he had brought to the highest state of discipline. To advance his schemes, however, Pompeius procured the election of two Consuls whom he regarded as decided opponents of Cæsar, C. Claudius Marcellus, and Æmilius Paulus. Curio, who as yet continued to side with the Senate, obtained the Tribunate.¹

¹ Dio Cass. xl. 59.; Appian, B. C. ii. 26.

The first-named Consul was first cousin to M. Marcellus, and did not disappoint the hopes of the Optimates on attaining office; but his colleague accepted a bribe of 1500 talents to do nothing contrary to the interests of Cæsar. Of the Censors, Cæsar's father-in-law Piso was his open partizan; and Appius indirectly assisted him, by striking out of the list several senators and knights, who forthwith flocked to his standard. With a larger sum than that expended on the Consul, Cæsar succeeded in buying Curio, whom dissipation and extravagance had deeply embarrassed, and who proved himself exactly the man he wanted.*

Cicero's letters are interesting on this account among others, that they exhibit to us many of the most prominent men of the day, as they appeared in different scenes and at different periods of their existence; thus as it were unfolding before our eyes the most remarkable occurrences of the age. Curio was one of these men. We have seen how emphatically Cicero had claimed his talents for his coun-

* Appian, B. C. ii. 27.; Dio Cass. xl. 60—63.; Comp. Vell. Pat. ii. 48.; Plin. Nat. Hist. ix. 1. Velleius states the amount of his debts to have been 4,000,000 sesterces; and Valerius Maximus, 60,000,000. Cæsar appears to have discharged the whole.

try's service two years before, and the Optimates placed great confidence in him, assuming as he did the character of an ardent patriot; but he possessed in a high degree the art of dissimulation, and managed to deceive even Cæsar, who deemed him at first not worth the winning.¹ In October, 703, after the decree of September, Cælius writes to Cicero, "Curio is exerting all his strength against Cæsar."² When, from his camp at Pindenissus, Cicero wrote to congratulate him on his gaining the Tribunate, he added to his good wishes an earnest exhortation to assert the good cause.³ But even in this letter we can discern symptoms of uneasiness; and when at the beginning of the year 704, Cælius informed him⁴, that Curio had begun to speak in favour of Cæsar, he answered, "What say you? is Curio promoting the cause of Cæsar? who would have thought it — except myself? for by my life I guessed it would be so. Ye gods! how I regret we cannot laugh over this together." *⁵

This merriment was soon, however, to be turned into mourning. Having once decided for Cæsar, Curio played his new part in a masterly manner. The Consul M. Marcellus insisted upon Cæsar's recall, and, like his cousin, refused to recognize the law of Cælius. Curio made no open opposition to the measure, but, seconded by the populace, he demanded that any general who had retained the command of his army beyond the time appointed by law, should be required to surrender it.⁶ Pompeius, he well knew, in his actual position, could do nothing of the

¹ Ep. 206.
(Div. viii. 4.)

² Ep. 223.
(Div. viii. 8.)

³ Ep. 227.
(Div. ii. 7.)

⁴ Ep. 242, 5.
(Div. viii. 6.)

⁵ Ep. 257, 4.
(Div. ii. 13.)

⁶ Cæs. B. G. viii. 52.; Appian, B. C. ii. 27.; Suet. Jul. 29.

* See Vell. Pat. ii. 48.; Dio Cass. xl. 60. According to Cælius, Curio would not seem to have dissembled his intentions so long as Appian and Dio state to have been the case. Velleius says: *Bello civili non alius majorem flagrantiorumque quam C. Curio Tr. pl. subiecit facem, vir nobilis, eloquens, audax, suæ alienæque et fortunæ et pudicitiae prodigus, homo ingeniosissime nequam, et facundus malo publico, cujus animo, voluptatibus libidinibus, neque opes ullæ neque cupiditates sufficere possent.*

kind. He was at this time travelling in Italy for the re-establishment of his health, and was receiving from all parts the most flattering proofs of the sympathy excited by the severe illness which had attacked him at Naples, and which had nearly proved fatal to him. Vows had been publicly offered for his recovery in all the cities of Italy, an honour which, as it had never before been paid to any individual, contributed not a little to increase his self-esteem.¹ He wrote a letter, and on his return to Rome^{1 Plut. Pomp. 57.} delivered an oration to the Senate, in which, while he extolled the deeds both of Cæsar and himself, he insinuated that the Gallic war being now ended, Cæsar was bound to disband his army. He promised to do the same himself, without, however, specifying any time. For any more decided step he felt as unequal as in the preceding year²; ^{2 Ep. 326, 2. (Att. vill. 3.)} but this conduct was easily seen through by Curio, who made him rue the Tribunitian power, which, after being broken by Sulla, he had himself restored. The Tribune was not to be foiled. He insisted that Cæsar's strength ought not to be diminished, but suffered to remain as a counterpoise to that of Pompeius. He succeeded in causing great part of the year to be wasted in fruitless discussions*, and had also the satisfaction of seeing a majority of the Senate vote for Cæsar on some important questions.³ At length^{3 Ep. 272, 2.; 298, 5. (Div. viii. 13.; Att. vii. 7.)} it was resolved that one legion should be withdrawn from each of the generals on pretext of the Parthian war. Cæsar made no resistance to this, but besides the legion required by the Senate, even relinquished another which Pompeius had formerly lent him, and which he now demanded of him. He dismissed them with a handsome

* There can be no doubt that Marcellus exerted himself both in March and subsequently to cause the resolution of the Senate (*Sen. auctoritas*), which he had obtained in September, to be converted into a decree (*Sen. consultum*); but we are without distinct information on this point.

gratuity, and an injunction to take the road through Rome, in order that his liberality and affection for the army might be made known there. The officers whom Pompeius had sent to Cæsar on this business, brought back a false account of the army of Gaul, which contributed to strengthen his overweening confidence in himself.¹ When asked how he proposed to meet his rival if he should proceed to hostilities with him, he replied: "I have only to stamp on the ground, and soldiers will spring up for me every where." The two legions received orders to remain for the winter in Capua.²

When, towards the end of the year, the Consul Marcellus again proposed in the Senate the two questions, — Shall a successor be appointed to Cæsar? and—Shall Pompeius be required to lay down his command? the last was negatived by a large majority, and the recall of Cæsar was unanimously decreed. Curio, nevertheless, renewed his motion. For the welfare of the State, he said, it was necessary that both should return to the condition of private individuals; and when he demanded that the question should be put to the vote, he had 370 voices in his favour and only 22 against him. Upon this Marcellus broke up the sitting, exclaiming: "You have conquered; you will have Cæsar for your master." And then, a false report having arisen that Cæsar was marching upon Rome, he took the opportunity to require the Senate to proclaim him a public enemy. Curio opposed this, and declared the report to be untrue; whereupon Marcellus, being unable to obtain the decree, in company with the Consuls elect* repaired to Pompeius, who was then at his country residence in the vicinity of Rome. Placing a sword in his hand, he invested him with the command of

* This is Dio's account. Appian says that the Consul Æmilius accompanied Marcellus; but this seems hardly probable.

¹ *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 6.

² *Plut. Pomp.* 57.; *Appian, B. C.* ii. 29.; *Dio Cass.* xl. 64. foll.

the two legions in Capua, and whatever military force remained in Italy. Pompeius professed his readiness to obey the behests of the Consuls, "if," he added in his timid, irresolute manner, "there is no help for it." Curio however, whose Tribunate was drawing to a close, protested loudly against these proceedings, and left Rome to join Cæsar at Ravenna.¹

¹ Appian, B. C. ii. 31.; Dio Cass. xl. 66.

It is evident that Cæsar, as usual, had played the most prudent part at this juncture. He had taken no open part against Pompeius; he had simply allowed the fruit of every earlier concession which had been made him to come to maturity, justifying Cicero's complaint in a letter written in December 704: "Too late we oppose the man, whom for the last ten years we have cherished against ourselves."² Cæsar had made every preparation for a successful struggle with Pompeius, who on the other hand, confiding in his early fortune, his name, and his adherents, professed to despise his adversary. Towards the end of May 704 he arrived in the Hither province, and, accompanied by an army of 5000 foot and 300 horse, repaired to Ravenna, where he was joined by Curio. He was well aware that moderation and an apparent love of peace would be likely to win him the esteem of the multitude, and could in no case do him any injury. He continued therefore to avoid any appearance of hostility, causing the rumour to be spread by his friends in Rome that he was prepared to relinquish his army, and the Transalpine province which he had gained for the Republic by so many victories, and that he only desired to retain possession of two legions and the Cisalpine together with Illyricum, until he should obtain the Consulship. He insisted indeed on making use of the permission which had been legally granted him to sue for that office while absent from the

² Ep. 296, 4. (Att. vii. 5.); comp. 297. (Att. vii. 7.)

¹ Appian,
B. C. ii. 32.

city.*¹ Much more than this had been conceded to Pompeius, but his enemies only saw that he was desirous of remaining armed in the neighbourhood of Rome, with the intention of using compulsion, should occasion require it.

² Ep. 280, [2.
(Dio. viii.
14.)

Soon after his arrival at Ravenna, he despatched Curio to the Senate with written proposals to the same effect as those he had made before²: namely, that he was ready to resign his army and his office simultaneously with Pompeius; but that if the latter persisted in retaining his command, he would forthwith enter Rome and proceed to avenge his country and himself. This manifesto† was presented to the Senate on the first day of the year 705, when C. Claudius Marcellus, the son of Marcus, and L. Cornelius Lentulus, entered on their Consulship; but it was only the urgent appeal of the Tribunes M. Antonius and Qu. Cassius‡ that prevailed on them to recite it. Its contents excited alarm and displeasure in the Consuls and a portion of the assembly: some days later, in spite of their remonstrances, it was communicated to the people in their assembly by Antonius, who had already been employed in Cæsar's interests in Rome, and through his influence had been appointed successively Augur and Tribune.³

³ Appian,
B. C. ii. 32.;
Dio Cass.
xli. 1.; Plut.
Cæs. 30.

Things were in this state when Cicero arrived before the gates of the city on the 4th of January. On the 31st of July he had first set foot in his province, and the moment the law permitted, apparently on the very day that his Proconsular year ended, he laid down the burdens

* Suetonius (*Jul.* 29, 30.) says that Cæsar had endeavoured to come to some agreement with his adversaries on this point, but that they refused to make any concession.

† It was, according to Cicero, bitter and menacing in its tone. *Ep.* 301, 2. Cæsar himself says that it contained *lenissima postulata*. *Bell. Civ.* i. 5.

‡ A brother of Caius Cassius, who was subsequently one of the conspirators against Cæsar.

of office. So great was his longing to return to Rome, the city of his affection, the theatre of his achievements, the head of the Republic whose guardian angel he conceived himself to be, under the influence of a powerful imagination which overlooked the limits of his strength! * But fate dealt hardly with him, or proved, as frequently happens, a severe master and chastiser; for when he returned to Italy, after being delayed on his journey by contrary winds and other circumstances, he fell directly into the flames of civil discord†; and the long series of letters which he wrote previously to taking his journey into Greece to join Pompeius, afford proof that he was neither capable of extinguishing the flames as he had hoped, nor of manfully confronting them. If he erred in overrating his strength, he must have become convinced of his mistake when he had time and composure enough for self-examination, and a feeling of humiliation must have added bitterness to his punishment. “Oh, how I wish I, were once again in my province!”¹ he writes to Atticus ^{Ep. 284, 3. (Att. vii. 1.)} from Athens, while on his journey home, and still ignorant how much cause for complaining the ensuing months would give him. Very characteristic, too, are the following words which close another of his letters from Athens: “What, I pray you, will become of us? I am best here in my watch-tower on the Acropolis.”[‡]² This was written just after he had received intelligence that Cæsar was about to occupy Placentia with a considerable army. § For the sake of his son and nephew, Cicero took Rhodes

* *Ego, in cujus causa reipublicæ consistebat.* Ep. 294, 1. (Att. vii. 3.)

† *Inciidi in ipsam flammam civilis discordiæ.* Ep. 301, 2. (Div. xvi. 11.)

‡ [*In arce Athenis statio mea nunc placet.* Travelling with an armed retinue he was lodged, perhaps, in the citadel. See Manutius in loc. I question whether Abeken has given the exact sense of the words.]

§ This was an exaggerated report. [Cæsar had only one legion with him in the Cisalpine.]

¹ *Epp.* 270.;
281, 3. (*Att.*
vi. 7, 8.)

on his way.¹ He was desirous of showing them that flourishing island, and of introducing them to the celebrated school of rhetoric where he had himself studied with so much zeal and success under Molo. Here news reached him of the death of Hortensius, in whom he had to mourn a friend and associate in his present difficulties, and a former colleague in office, with whom he had looked to living henceforth more familiarly², as the suspicions he had harboured of him during his exile had long ago vanished. “I was deeply affected,” he says; “for I had lost, not an adversary or a detractor from my merit, but a companion who sympathized in my honourable labours.”³

² *Ep.* 276, 3.
(*Att.* vi. 6.)

³ *Brut.* 1, 2.

From Rhodes Cicero sailed to Ephesus, where he arrived towards the end of September, after a tedious voyage of twenty days. Here an acquaintance of his, Battonius by name, met him, with a letter from Atticus, who had gone to Rome on the 20th September; he also brought him tidings of Cæsar, whose daring ambition had so long caused him deep uneasiness. He now heard of his absolute refusal to disband his army, and of the favour in which he was held by many of the highest magistrates.⁴

⁴ *Epp.* 281, 1.
3.; 282, 1.
(*Att.* vi. 8, 9.)

On the 1st October he left Ephesus, and, after being again delayed by contrary winds, landed on the 14th in the Piræus, from whence he proceeded to Athens. Here he received more letters from Atticus, as well as some from Terentia, and gained further intelligence respecting Cæsar’s movements; intelligence which, as we have seen, cast a gloom over his residence in his beloved city of

⁵ *Epp.* 283, 1.;
282, 1. 4.
(*Div.* xiv. 5.;
Att. vi. 9.)

Minerva.⁵ His disquietude was enhanced by the arrival of letters from both the contending chiefs, each of whom was now prepared for the approaching struggle and anxious to secure his adherence.⁶ In the midst of his cares and perplexities, however, Cicero enjoyed a momentary gratification in pointing out to his youthful com-

⁶ *Ep.* 284, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 1.)

panions the monuments of the former glory of Athens, and introducing them to her celebrated teachers of philosophy and rhetoric. After a short sojourn in this city, he went to Patræ in Achaia, where his favourite Tiro, whose health had already been a subject of anxiety to him in Cilicia, became so ill that he was forced to leave him behind.¹

His regard for this freedman is one of the most beautiful traits in Cicero's life. Let us think of him as he is represented to us in his works, his letters, and in history. His energy and perseverance have achieved for him the highest possible reputation for eloquence, and the death of Hortensius has left him without a rival in this department, whilst Rhodes and Athens have borne flattering testimony to the position he occupies. His Consulate has placed him on the highest pinnacle of fame, and he is now returning from the province, his administration of which has even increased his reputation. Yet, in the midst of these gratifying circumstances, in the midst also of the anxiety which oppresses him in the threatened dangers of the Commonwealth, we find him full of the most tender affection for his freedman, and appearing as though this were the absorbing passion of his soul. We cannot indeed read without emotion the letters addressed to Tiro, dating from the 3rd November. A father could not express more tender interest in a beloved son. Three of these letters bear the same date. We detect in them the writer's ardent longing to be rejoined by the object of his interest, though the dread of his venturing to sea before his health would safely admit of it always preponderates. His brother, son and nephew all share in these sentiments. He sends a slave to Patræ to inquire after Tiro's health, and writes himself to the sick man's physicians. Omitting nothing which sincere affection

¹ *Epp.* 270.;
292. (*Att.* vi.
7.; *Div.* xvi.
9.)

could suggest to cheer him and alleviate his sufferings, he exerts himself, in the midst of the most harassing cares, to write him a long letter full of minute details.¹ No doubt he painfully missed Tiro's assistance in his business and literary avocations, but his tenderness towards him was caused by purer motives. Whilst he was still lying sick at Patræ, Cicero, writing about the middle of December to Atticus, says, "I see you are anxious about Tiro. Though his services are invaluable to me in all my pursuits and occupations when he is in health, yet it is his intrinsic worth and excellence, rather than the consideration of my own interests, that make me long for his recovery."² That his letters to Tiro convey a true expression of his feelings towards him, is proved by the tenor of those addressed at the same time to Atticus.³ His care for Tiro remained undiminished even when his anxieties had reached their climax.*⁴

Cicero quitted Patræ on the 2nd November, and passing through Alyzia in Acarnania, and Leucas, reached the promontory of Actium on the 7th⁵, where he was detained by stress of weather till the 9th. On that day he sailed to Corcyra, but was here again detained by storms till the 16th, and was then kept, from the same cause, at Cassiope, a harbour of the Corcyræans on the main land. He set sail for Italy on the 23rd, and landed safely on the following day at Hydruntum. On the 25th he reached Brundisium, and his wife Terentia, whom he had begged to come as far as she could to meet him, entered the city by the gate of the Appian road at the same time that he left

* According to the common opinion Tiro did not get his emancipation until after Cicero's return from his province; but Schütz assigns an earlier date to this event, because in the letter Quintus wrote expressing his joy upon it he appears to have been for some time separated from his brother, on which account Schütz imagines it to have been written during the time that he was acting as Cæsar's legate in Gaul, perhaps in the year 700.

¹ *Ep.* 301.
(*Div.* xvi.
11.)

² *Ep.* 296, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 5.)

³ *Ep.* 293, 3.
(*Att.* vii. 2.)

⁴ *Epp.* 358, 2;
366, 3. (*Att.*
ix. 17.; x. 4.)

⁵ *Ep.* 292, 1.
(*Div.* xvi. 9.)

the harbour, and husband and wife rejoined each other in the Forum.¹

Cicero now trod the soil of Italy as Imperator; and, accompanied by his lictors with their fasces wreathed in laurels, aspired to enter Rome in triumph.

This was an honour eagerly coveted by every Roman who conceived himself qualified to play a part in the mighty Republic, when he returned from the administration of a province. It was the surest passport to power and favour, displayed as it was before the eyes of a sympathizing and all-powerful populace. Cicero was the more entitled to expect it, as it had been accorded to Lentulus, formerly a governor of Cilicia, for achievements exactly similar to his own²; and his immediate predecessor Appius³ was also secure of obtaining it.* We have seen in what

terms Cicero wrote to Cato, early in the year, when he was soliciting a supplication. Probably, he regarded this honour as the forerunner of a triumph, and such Cato seems to have considered it.³ On this occasion, however,

his friends in Rome anticipated the expression of his wishes.⁴ After Cicero's arrival at Athens, when the accounts which he received from Rome announcing the approach of the open rupture between Cæsar and Pompeius became daily more alarming, causing him to look forward with the greatest apprehension to the 1st of January, the solicitation for a triumph appeared to offer him a convenient excuse for absenting himself from Rome and the Senate on that critical day.⁵ Although in his heart he had decided for Pompeius, he feared having to declare

¹ *Epp* 283, 3.; 292, 1.; 293, 2. (*Att.* vii. 2.; *Div.* xiv. 5.; xvi. 9.)

² *Ep.* 250, 3. (*Att.* v. 21.)

³ *Ep.* 266. (*Div.* xv. 5.)

⁴ *Ep.* 263. (*Div.* ii. 12.)

⁵ *Ep.* 284, 2. (*Att.* vii. 1.)

* It is worth remarking that Cæsar first learned the art of war in contests with the savage Cilicians. *Suet. Jul.* 3. Tacitus mentions a certain Sulpicius Quirinius who, in the time of Augustus, received the insignia of a triumph for the conquest of the castles of the Homonadenses, wild mountaineers in Cilicia. (*Ann.* iii. 48.)

himself openly, and give his vote against Cæsar, and it was probably this dread which caused him to loiter over the latter part of the journey he had begun in so much haste.

In a letter to Atticus from Brundisium, he says: "I had no ambition to obtain a triumph before those impudent letters of Bibulus were written and followed by so splendid a supplication.* Had he really achieved the deeds he wrote of, I should rejoice in his honours, and seek to promote them; but that they should be conferred on a man, who, as long as the enemy was on this side of the Euphrates, never set foot outside his door,—and denied to me, in whose army he placed all his hopes of his own,—this would be a disgrace to us,—to *us*, I say, including you. For this reason, I shall try every means, and shall, I hope, succeed in gaining my desire."¹ It was not the distinction conferred on Bibulus alone that stimulated Cicero; he would have considered himself degraded also by the side of Lentulus and Appius had he not permitted himself to sue for a triumph.

These expressions betray a susceptible and irritable temperament, but they hardly justify the severe condemnation some writers have passed upon him; whilst the passionate tone of the passage just quoted, which is apparent also in that immediately following, testifies at least to the sincerity of his feelings. His wish to enter Rome in triumph was met by Pompeius, whose policy it was, by supporting the leading Optimates, to bind them more closely to his own interests.† But Cicero's anxiety on this point soon

* This was a supplication of twenty days, granted by the Senate at the instigation of Cato. [Such honours were of course generally conferred or withheld from motives of policy. Bibulus, as well as Appius and Lentulus, was a warm partizan of the Senate.]

† *Ep.* 295, 2. (*Att.* vii. 4.) [*Pompeium vidi* iv. *Id. Decembres. Fuius una duas horas fortasse. Magna lætitia mihi visus est affici meo adventu:*

¹ *Ep.* 293, 5.
Att. vii. 2.)

came to an end, and after his interview with Pompeius we find him distinctly declaring his indifference with regard to a triumph.¹

The dangers which now threatened the State might indeed well have extinguished all aspirations after its highest honours, even in a more ambitious man. In the midst, however, of the agitations with which the new year opened in the Senate, several voices demanded a triumph for Cicero², and the Consul Lentulus promised that he would himself propose it, as soon as the more urgent business of the State should have been despatched. Cicero, after informing Tiro of this, adds: "For myself, I show no eagerness for anything, and my influence is so much the greater."

¹ *Ep.* 298, 5.
(*Att.* vii. 7.)

² *Ep.* 301, 3.
(*Div.* xvi. 11.)

To preserve this influence in the present state of affairs, now that he was once more in Italy, was his chief anxiety. The year 705 was rapidly approaching. C. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus were about to assume the Consulate, and soon the Senate would have to decide on Cæsar's proposals. Cicero's embarrassment is vividly portrayed in the letters he addressed to Atticus during his journey, and before his arrival at the gates. We will quote a passage from one of those written from Athens. "I conjure you by my fortunes, by all the love you bear me, by your uniform prudence, to consider the situation I am placed in. I foresee such a struggle in

de triumpho hortari, suscipere partes suas; monere ne ante in Senatum accederem quam rem confecissem, ne dicendis sententiis aliquem tribunum alienarem. Immediately afterwards, however, we find Pompeius proposing to send Cicero with the *imperium* into Sicily, much to his mortification, and allowing the question of the triumph to drop. It is probable that Appius and others were jealous of Cicero's obtaining the honour, and exerted their influence against him. It may be suspected, also, that the advice given him not to enter the Senate was meant to obviate the moderate counsels he would doubtless have given in the impending crisis.]

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reserve for us, as we have never yet had to undergo, unless the Deity, who relieved me more effectually than I dared hope in the Parthian war, now extend his succour to the Republic. But this misfortune touches me in common with all, nor is this what I would commend to your consideration, but rather the problem which I individually have to solve. You see how, in accordance with your advice, I connected myself with both chiefs: with one because he deserved so much from me; with the other because he was so powerful. By the friendly devotion I manifested to their interests, I succeeded in obtaining the affection of each as much as any man. So close was at that time the connexion between the two, that while I conceived that in allying myself with Pompeius I should not be called upon to do anything against the good of the Republic, I did not expect that in adhering to Cæsar I should be required to fight against Pompeius. At this moment however, as you point out to me, and as I can myself discern, a mortal contest is impending between them. Both reckon me among their adherents, unless indeed one of them only feigns to do so: for Pompeius does not hesitate to believe, what is the truth, that I entirely approve of his present sentiments towards the Republic. I received letters from each of them at the same time that I got yours¹, and I am led to believe that they value my adherence above everything. Now what am I to do? I speak not with reference to the final result (for if the affair is to be decided by arms, I would choose to be conquered with Pompeius, rather than to conquer with Cæsar), but of the question which will be in agitation when I arrive*, whether Cæsar's claim of absence is to be respected, or whether he shall be required to dismiss

* Cicero expected, at that time, to reach the termination of his journey yet earlier.

¹ Comp. *Ep.*
294. (*Att.* vii.
3.)

his army? * When I hear the words, ‘Speak, Marcus Tullius,’ what shall I say? ‘Wait, I beseech you, till I have consulted with Atticus.’ There is no room for compromise. Shall I speak against Cæsar? Where then are all my solemn promises? For this claim of absence I supported at his own request. At his request do I say? At that of our Cnæus also, preferred to me in that glorious third Consulate of his. Shall I now be of a different opinion? I fear not Pompeius alone, but —

Τρῶας, καὶ Τρωάδας :

Πουλυδάμας μου πρῶτος ἐλεγχείην καταθήσει.†

Whom do I mean? You, yourself, the panegyrist of my actions and of my writings.”¹

On the 6th December Cicero reached Herculaneum², whence he repaired to the Trebulan villa of his friend Pontius Aquila. On the 10th he had an interview with Pompeius, who had undertaken a journey through the south of Italy, hoping by his absence from Rome at that juncture to avoid the appearance of being implicated in the transactions of the Senate. He incurred the blame of many of the knights and senators for this conduct³, which, however, was of a piece with the wish to save appearances which he continually manifested. Meanwhile the opponents of Cæsar still looked to him for countenance, and he in reality directed all their machinations. Cicero had an interview with him for two hours. Pompeius, who was evidently anxious to secure his adherence,

¹ *Ep.* 284, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 1.)

² *Ep.* 294, 1.
(*Att.* vii. 3.)

³ *Ep.* 296, 4.
(*Att.* vii. 5.)

* In the last letter Cicero received in Asia from Cælius, he says: “Pompeius is firmly determined that Cæsar shall not become Consul, unless he gives up his army and provinces; Cæsar, on the other hand, is convinced that he is lost if he does not retain his army.” *Ep.* 280, 2. (*Div.* viii. 14.), written in September.

† *Iliad*, vi. 442.; xxii. 105.

manifested the most friendly disposition towards him, expressed great joy at his return, and advised him to sue for a triumph, promising to use every effort himself to promote his success. A war with Cæsar he seemed to look upon as inevitable after what had recently occurred.¹ Cicero's irresolution was now at an end. Obeying the dictates of his nature, he determined to espouse the cause of the Republic, or rather of the Senate and Optimates. The letter he wrote to Atticus from the Trebullanum, shortly before his interview with Pompeius, is very remarkable.² It proves that, as Cicero plainly perceived, the strife between the two generals was only for supreme power. But yet, though he still endeavoured to preserve Cæsar's good will, he could hardly avoid espousing the interests of Pompeius, inasmuch as the Senate and the Optimates were ranged on his side. Besides this, he had latterly conceived a more exalted idea of the character of Pompeius³, and the feelings of friendship and devotion he had for many years cherished for him, now spoke loudly in his behalf. "What then will you do? do you ask?" he says in a letter to Atticus written some time later: "I will do, even as the cattle do, who, when they are scattered, follow their own kind. As the ox follows his herd, so will I follow the Optimates, or those who are called by that name, even if they run wild."⁴

Gloomy indeed must have been the thoughts which occupied him when he could write in such a strain! But still more melancholy are the terms in which he speaks of the party for which he had declared himself, in the same letter (of the 20th December): "You say that I am the object of vast expectations, and that none of the well-disposed, or of the not ill-disposed, have any doubt of my sentiments and opinions. I do not understand whom you mean by the well-disposed, for I know of none myself;

¹ *Ep.* 295, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 4.)

² *Ep.* 294.
(*Att.* vii. 4.)

³ *Epp.* 199, 1.;
244, 3.; 261,
1.; 264, 2.;
265, 1. (*Div.*
ii. 8.; iii. 7.
10, 11.; *Att.*
vi. 3.)

⁴ *Ep.* 298, 5.
(*Att.* vii. 7.)

at least of no such class. Can the Senate be said to be well-disposed, through whose means the provinces remain without governors? * Or the Publicans, who have never been constant to any one except now to Cæsar? Or the Usurers? Or the husbandmen, who are actuated solely by their desire for peace? Unless, indeed, you imagine that they dread a king, who for the sake of tranquillity have never yet shrank from one."

For the rest, he for his part desired nothing more ardently than peace, for he plainly foresaw on whose side victory would declare itself in the impending conflict, and trembled for the consequences. Rather indeed than stake everything on the chances of war, he would have acceded to the demands of Cæsar, extravagant as he deemed them.¹

From the Trebullanum, Cicero went to his villa near Formiæ², intending to proceed on the last day of December to Terracina, and thence to the Alban villa of Pompeius. He hoped to reach the gates of Rome on the 3rd January, his birth-day³, but was delayed till the 4th.³ He had another conversation with Pompeius, who overtook him at Lavernium on the 27th, and they proceeded to Formiæ in company. Their discourse turned chiefly upon a speech which the Tribune M. Antonius had delivered on the 23rd, in which he had violently attacked the whole public career of Pompeius.† Cicero perceived that his companion dreaded, above everything, Cæsar's

¹ *Epp.* 294, 2.; 296, 4.; 297. (*Att.* vii. 3. 5. 6.); Vell. Pat. ii. 48.

² *Epp.* 299, 4. (*Att.* vii. 5.)

³ *Epp.* 296, 3. (*Att.* vii. 5.)

* When the Senate was deliberating on the question of superseding the governors in the provinces, and Curio protested against it, the Consul M. Marcellus endeavoured to take measures against his intercession, but was overruled by a majority of voices. This was in Cæsar's favour. *Ep.* 272, 2. (*Div.* viii. 13.)

† Possibly this speech may have served as the model for Cicero's second Philippic.

gaining the Consulate a second time*; and that he felt confident that he could easily get rid of him, if he were treated as an enemy. His words seem to have inspired Cicero with courage, and made him feel as if he were once more listening to the great general of former times.¹

¹ *Ep.* 299.
(*Att.* vii. 8.)

² *Ep.* 301, 2.
(*Div.* xvi.
11.)

³ *Ep.* 273, 2.
(*Div.* ii. 15.)

⁴ *Ep.* 294, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 3.)

On the 4th January he arrived before the walls of Rome.² At length he had reached the place where for twenty months he had so constantly and passionately longed to be; where alone, as he imagined, he could live and breathe.³ In what condition did he find the city? And what were his own feelings now that he stood before its gates? Such is the caprice of fortune, that when a man has attained the object of his ardent desire, it generally proves but an empty bubble, or something even worse. We have seen what grief and anxiety Cicero had been suffering for months past, though he could sometimes recover courage when he remembered the tutelary Goddess of the city, the protectress also of his own fortunes⁴: but what now weighed most heavily upon him was the consciousness that much of the blame he imputed to the rulers of the State, attached also to himself for having assisted in making Cæsar so powerful†; and thus he was denied even the miserable consolation of accusing fortune.‡

* *Tum, (in priore consulatu) plus valuit quam tota respublica.* *Ep.* 300. (*Att.* vii. 9.)

† “If the Republic is to be defended, why was it not defended when Cæsar was Consul? . . . Why was his *imperium* prolonged, and in such a manner? Why was there such a struggle for it, that ten Tribunes brought forward the proposal that he should be permitted to sue for the Consulship while absent.” *Ep.* 294, 3.

‡ [Cæsar had tried to ensnare Cicero among others by a loan of money, for Cicero himself, after the dilapidation of his fortune by Clodius, was reduced to pecuniary difficulties. The patriot was too honest to surrender his political principles to his necessities; nevertheless, there is something ludicrous in his complaint to his faithful Atticus, that he must sacrifice the funds he had reserved for the expenses of his triumph to the repayment of

“ I torment myself day and night,” he says, at the conclusion of the last letter before his arrival.

His reception was as warm and honourable as he could have desired; but his attempts to mediate between the contending parties were utterly fruitless¹, for various were the conflicting interests which stood in the way. The Consul Marcellus was a determined aristocrat; whilst his colleague Lentulus, who was dependent on his creditors, looked forward to a civil war in the hope of becoming a second Sulla. He urged the strongest measures, disregarding all the proposals of the more moderate party, and threatening, should he be opposed, to throw off the authority of the Senate, and betake himself to Cæsar, who would gladly receive him.² Scipio, the father-in-law of Pompeius, hoped amidst these civil broils to escape from a trial which menaced him. Cato regarded Cæsar as even a worse foe to liberty than Pompeius. None heeded Cicero's recommendations of peace and concession.³ It was now carried by vote in the Senate, that Cæsar, against whom Cato and Scipio declaimed the most violently, should lay down his arms immediately, or be declared a public enemy. L. Domitius was named his successor in Cisalpine Gaul, and appointed to command an army; while the Consul, Prætors, Tribunes and Consulars were charged to watch over the safety of the Republic. These decrees were passed on the 6th January.⁴ Pompeius took part in all these transactions, principally through the medium of Scipio; and the Tribunes Antonius and Cassius, finding their protests disregarded, hastened secretly and in disguise to Cæsar's camp, accompanied by Curio and

¹ *Epp.* 301, 2.; 302, 1. (*Div.* xvi. 11, 12.)

² *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 1.

³ *Plut. Cæs.* 31.; *Pomp.* 59.; *Ep.* 334. D. (*Att.* viii. 11.)

⁴ *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 5.

his debt to the enemy of his country. *Mihi autem illud molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Cæsari et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum. Est enim ἡμορφον ἀντιπολιτευομένου χρεωφειλέτης esse.* *Ep.* 299. (*Att.* vii. 8.)]

M. Cælius, who had likewise declared for him in the interval.¹

¹ Dio Cass.
xii. 1—3.;
Cæs. Bell.
Civ. i. 1—5.;
Appian, Bell.
Civ. ii. 33.

Here let us pause for a moment to reflect upon the posture of affairs, and the aspect they presented to Cicero. We have already seen that he had lost all faith in the Commonwealth as it then existed, and was fully aware that Pompeius aimed at supreme dominion, whilst he could not fail to perceive the miserable condition to which his government had reduced the State. On the other hand he saw, that amid the baseness and selfishness of the so-called Optimates, and the utter nullity of what was once the people, the Republic could maintain itself no longer; whereas under Pompeius it seemed yet possible to preserve at least its outward semblance. Full, moreover, of aristocratic prejudices, he saw in Cæsar the destroyer of time-hallowed institutions, and failed to discern in him the creator of a new order of things²; while he regarded his followers as a set of upstarts, strangers to the ancient decorum. “A new system produces new men.” He felt the truth of this axiom; and from the high rank which his unceasing exertions had gained for him amongst the Optimates, looked down with abhorrence on these “new men,” to whom all his feelings were so much opposed, while he affected to believe that the crowd which flocked to Cæsar’s standard was composed exclusively of “voluptuous youths,” “a good-for-nothing populace,” and “insolent Tribunes.”* The horror with which he regarded them is conveyed in the description he wrote of them, when he beheld them assembled around their victorious leader.³

² Ep. 300.;
304. 1. (*Att.*
vii. 9. 11. *et*
passim.)

³ Ep. 359.
(*Att.* ix. 18.);
comp. vii. 3.;
(*Dev.* viii.
14.)

He had soon to acknowledge that he had been led astray

* Cæsar could not afford to be very particular in his choice, and there were, no doubt, many characters of this description in his camp. And after all what was the character of many of his opponents?

by his imagination, which caused him to regard Cæsar, once the object of his adoration, as a second Cinna or Sulla, if not an actual Phalaris.¹ He had doubted whether he should not be called a Hannibal rather than a Roman Emperor², and would not allow in his character even a shadow of goodness.* But in a short time he had to stand in the presence of this very Cæsar, and in his own person to experience his clemency, and had then to confess, if not utterly blinded by prejudice, that the virtues of a great man march hand in hand with his wisdom towards the goal which fate and his own will have set before him. There was nothing, indeed, of Sulla or of Cinna in Cæsar's composition; he desired to rule, and nature had formed him for a ruler. In his road to sole dominion, for which Rome was then ripe, and which alone could save her,—for without it she could no longer exist,—many ancient forms must of necessity be trampled on, many ancient rights must be violated. His motto was:—

“Si violandum est jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas.”†

We may not arrogate to ourselves the liberty of judging such a man, but let him who would adopt his maxims first examine whether he be himself a Cæsar.‡ Timoleon is

* When Cæsar had crossed the Rubicon, Cicero wrote to Atticus: *O hominem amentem et miserum, qui ne umbram quidem τοῦ καλοῦ viderit!* Ep. 304. In another letter he says of him: *Ne simulare quidem poterit quidquam πολιτικῶς.* Ep. 307, 6. (Att. vii. 13.)

† The words of Eteocles in the Phænissæ of Euripides, 534, 535.:

Εἵπερ γὰρ ἀδικεῖν χρή, τυραννίδος πέρι
Κάλλιστον ἀδικεῖν· τᾶλλα δ' ἐυσεβεῖν χρεών.

Suet. Jul. 30.; Cic. de Off. iii. 21.

‡ In his speech against Vatinius Cicero asks him: *Si jam violentior aliqua in re Cæsar fuisset, si eum magnitudo contentionis, studium gloriæ, præstans animus, excellens nobilitas aliquo impulisset, quod in illo viro et tum ferendum*

perhaps without a counterpart in history, but even he stands at a vast distance from Cæsar in respect of intellectual greatness.

And what was Pompeius in comparison with him? "He betrays the utmost timidity and perturbation of mind," Cicero writes of him to his friend on the 20th of January.¹ As soon as the news reached him that Cæsar had crossed the Rubicon and was advancing rapidly through Picenum, he hastened to leave Rome, in order to escape the tumultuary concourse of the citizens about him, and reach his two legions in the south of Italy, which constituted his only hope for the moment; whilst Favonius sneeringly observed, it was time for him now to stamp upon the ground.² Cicero was wrong in blaming him for abandoning Rome at this juncture³; for he was not in a position to maintain the city: his real fault consisted in not having prepared himself in time to encounter such an adversary as Cæsar, who, on his part, could venture to commence hostilities with a single legion, in the conviction that soldiers would join him at every step, and that the troops he had left beyond the Alps would follow him with the celerity he had himself taught them.* Meanwhile Lentulus, in too great consternation to execute the orders of Pompeius, and carry off the public treasure and offerings in the temples, fled the day after his chief, and neglected even to lock the inner sanctuary of the treasury.⁴ He was followed by the other Consul, and most of the authorities. Pompeius had declared that he would regard as enemies any that remained in Rome⁵: he required the

¹ *Ep.* 307, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 13.)

² Appian,
Bell. Civ. ii.
37.

³ *Epp.* 303.;
304, 2.; 324.;
325. (*Att.*
vii. 10, 11.;
viii. 1, 2.)

⁴ *Cæs. Bell.*
Civ. i. 14.

⁵ Dio Cass.
xli. 6.; Ap-
pian, *Bell.*
Civ. ii. 37.

esset, et maximis rebus, quas postea gessit obliterandum: id tu tibi, furcifer, sumes et Vatinii latronis ac sacrilegi vox audietur, hoc postulantis, ut idem sibi concedatur quod Cæsari?

* The twelfth legion overtook him after he had taken Cingulum (*Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 12.). Many soldiers had joined him before this, and he had levied recruits in all directions.

magistrates and the Senate to join him in Campania. In the present posture of affairs he was regarded as a Dictator. No attempt was made at enlistment in the city; the moment for action was lost; nothing appeared safe this side of Capua. "The abandonment of the city by her magistrates, above all the flight of Pompeius," writes Cicero to Atticus, "has made an amazing impression on men's minds."¹

¹ *Ep.* 302, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 11.)

Immediately after this, he quitted his own residence in the neighbourhood of the city*, and proceeded to Campania. Pompeius had committed to him the superintendence of the Campanian coast², where he was charged to levy troops, to provide for the tranquillity of the region, and to watch over the interests of the Pompeians generally. The Consul Lentulus and other leading personages met him at Formiæ. All were alike in alarm and perplexity.³ His own anxiety increased daily. "Shall I,"⁴ he writes from hence to Atticus, "embrace without reserve the cause of Pompeius? I am not alarmed by the danger, but I am distracted with grief. Everything has been done so inconsiderately, and so entirely against my advice!"⁴ He had, besides, begun to suspect that Pompeius was meditating a flight beyond the sea, and his distress was further augmented by his fears for the females of his family, who had remained in the city. What treatment might they expect from Cæsar? How would Pompeius interpret his conduct in leaving them there?"⁵

² *Epp.* 301, 4.;
304, 3. (*Att.*
vii. 11.; *Div.*
xvi. 11.)

³ *Ep.* 305.
(*Att.* vii. 12.)

⁴ *Ep.* 305.
(*Att.* vii. 12.)

⁵ *Epp.* 306.;
310. (*Div.*
xiv. 14.; xvi.
12.)

Pompeius was now traversing Apulia and the adjacent districts with a show of activity, but in reality undecided how to act. His hopes rested solely on the two legions at

* On Jan. 19th, according to the date assigned to *Ep.* 303. This letter was written either on his journey from Rome, or immediately before his departure from the city. In the next letter, of the 21st Jan., we read that Cæsar was already besieging Ancona. Atticus informed Cicero of this from Rome.

Capua; for the new levies were pressed unwillingly into the service, and showed no readiness to fight against Cæsar's veterans.¹ Cicero derived some encouragement from the desertion of Labienus, one of Cæsar's ablest lieutenants²: but what was the good of this desertion, since he in whose favour it was made could make no use of it, at least in Italy? A gleam of hope presented itself to Pompeius, when Lucius Cæsar, a relative of the Imperator, who had been sent to Rome to persuade him to peaceful measures, returned with an answer to the effect that he was willing to cease from hostilities, if Pompeius, on his part, would retire to his province, and restore entire freedom to the Republic. Cicero saw the ambassador at Minturnæ, on the 25th of January, and sneered at his insignificance, whilst the terms offered by Cæsar appeared to him intolerable.³

Pompeius, encouraged by the acquisition of Labienus, returned the following answer in the presence of the Consuls at Teanum: — "Cæsar's terms shall be granted, on condition that he retreats beyond the Rubicon and relinquishes all the cities he has taken: when this has been done we will return to the city, and leave all further negotiations in the hands of the Senate⁴; but until Cæsar gives security for the performance of these terms, Pompeius and the Consuls will not suspend the levy of troops."⁵

Cæsar was incensed at the conditions required of him, nor was it likely he would consent to disband his army, while his adversary continued to augment his own. The negotiation proved fruitless, and Curio laughed at the whole affair.⁶ It seems probable that Cæsar himself was not in earnest in the proposals he made, or that at any rate he did not wish them to be accepted. But the fact of his having proposed terms of accommodation placed him in an advantageous position, and enabled him to appear innocent

¹ *Epp.* 305.; 307.; 308.
(*Att.* vii. 12. 13. 14.)

² *Epp.* 304.; 307.; 308.
(*Att.* vii. 11. 13. 14.); *Dio Cass.* xli. 4.

³ *Ep.* 307, 6.
(*Att.* vii. 13.);
see also *Att.*
vii. 15, 16.;
Div. xvi. 12.

⁴ *Ep.* 308, 1.
(*Att.* vii. 14.)

⁵ *Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 10, 11.

⁶ *Ep.* 316.
(*Att.* vii. 19.)

of the blood of his countrymen which was soon to be shed. After despatching his proposals, which were equitable in themselves, he continued to display the same activity in his movements. "Out upon the accursed robber!" Cicero exclaims; "shame upon the Republic! whose disasters can scarcely be repaired by any amount of future tranquillity." * ¹

¹ *Ep.* 315, 2.
(*Att.* vii. 8.)

No dependence could be placed either on the Consuls. They had appointed Cicero to meet them at Capua on the 5th of February. He had gone there before this, on the 27th of January, to expedite the levy of troops, and had found the Campanian colonists little disposed to take part against Cæsar, to whom they owed their estates.² But now, in obedience to the Consuls, he hastened thither

² *Epp.* 308, 1.;
311.; 314.;
(*Att.* vii. 14.
16, 17.)

* Cæsar's account of this negotiation does not quite harmonize with Cicero's. (*Cæs. Bell. Civ.* i. 6—14.) According to the former L. Cæsar and the Prætor Roscius met him at Ariminum (c. viii.), bearing proposals from Pompeius (*privati officii mandata*) of a nature he could not accept; and he sent them back to Pompeius, with his own terms. The envoys found Pompeius at Capua (c. x.), not at Teanum, as Cicero relates. And the unfavourable answer he returned was received by Cæsar at Ariminum, where he still was (c. xi.), who then first proceeded to occupy Ancona and Pisaurum, and to advance himself upon Auximum (c. xii.). After his successes there, Pompeius and the Consuls fled from Rome (c. xiv.); which would imply that Pompeius had returned there from Capua, after his first flight in consequence of the passage of the Rubicon, which is out of the question. On the other hand, Cicero, as related in the text, saw L. Cæsar on his way to Pompeius, at Minturnæ on the 25th Jan., after the flight from the city; and the siege of Ancona had commenced before the 21st. (*Ep.* 304, 1.) According to this, Cæsar must have left Ariminum before receiving the answer of Pompeius, whose interview with the ambassador must have taken place after his flight from Rome. (*Comp. Dio Cass.* xli. 6.) As, however, Cicero's letters were written on the spot, and his accounts are corroborated by the historians of the time, we must assume that Cæsar has been guilty of some inaccuracy [if not wilful misstatement], and by narrating the negotiations with Pompeius in connexion with the first mission of Lucius has given rise to the impression that his departure from Ariminum did not take place till after they had been brought to an unsuccessful issue.

again from the Formian villa, where he then was, in the most inclement weather, and on his arrival found neither of them there. Late in the evening, however, Lentulus made his appearance; but Cicero soon found that nothing was to be hoped for either from him or from his colleague. The recruiting was everywhere unsuccessful. Those employed in the service scarcely dared to show their faces; for while Pompeius continued to wander up and down, doing nothing to any purpose, Cæsar was near at hand. By the beginning of February the whole of the Picenum

¹ *Epp.* 317.:¹
318. (*Att.* vii.
20, 21.)

was in his power¹; a fact known however only to Cicero, to whom it had been communicated by Dolabella, then with the advancing general. "Our Cnæus!" he exclaims, "who would have believed it! is completely overthrown! He is totally without sense or courage: he has no troops, no activity: he is ignorant not only of the enemy's force, but of his own also." The Consuls themselves scoffed at his commands. When he desired them to return to Rome and possess themselves of the money in the treasury, Lentulus recommended him to go first himself to Picenum.²

² *Ep.* 318.
(*Att.* vii. 21.)

Corfinium, a city in the country of the Marsi, still held out, under the command of L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the Consul of the year 700, to whom the province of Gaul had been recently assigned. He had hoped that Pompeius would join him as he had seemed at first inclined to do³; and had he done so they might have saved Rome, and prevented Cæsar from pressing forward into southern Italy. But Pompeius dared not risk an encounter with his rival, and urged Domitius to join him with all speed in the south. Domitius, however, still lingered at Corfinium, and still hoped to receive aid from him; for which obstinate disobedience Pompeius thought fit sharply to reprimand him.⁴

³ *Ep.* 336.
(*Att.* viii. 12.)

⁴ *Epp.* 336.
B. C. D. (*Att.*
viii. 12.)

After wasting all this precious time in Campania and

Apulia, Pompeius, whose thoughts were now evidently directed towards Greece, proceeded about the end of February to Brundisium. The failing state of his health must serve for his excuse. Cicero writes: "All our hopes rest upon the health of one man, who falls sick once a-year."¹ Cæsar could triumph even over bodily sufferings.¹ *Ep. 325. (Att. viii. 2.)* He laid siege to Corfinium about the middle of February, and after a week's resistance the place surrendered on the 22nd.² The cohorts of Domitius went over to him and gave up to him their commander. All who submitted he treated with the greatest clemency.³ Then with winged speed he advanced to the shores⁴ of the Adriatic in quest of his antagonist; but he, hard pressed, and finding himself hemmed in on the land side, took ship in the harbour of Brundisium, and set sail for Greece. This was on the 17th of March: the next day Cæsar entered the city.⁵ *Ep. 326.; 338. (Att. viii. 3. 14.); Cæsar. Bell. Civ. i. 2, 3. Ep. 337. (Att. viii. 13.) Ep. 319. (Att. vii. 22.)* Thus the great Pompeius, flying before the face of the man whom a short time since he had affected to despise, abandoned Italy, the theatre of his former exploits, never again to behold it. He probably already felt that which a later poet thus expresses, —

"Provida Pompeio dederat Campania febres
Optandas; sed multæ urbes et publica vota
Vicerunt; igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
Servatum victo caput abstulit."*

During this time Cicero remained in Campania engaged with the duties assigned him there. He would not undertake any office of more importance, that there might be no obstacle to his efforts for obtaining peace.⁶ Every-⁶ *Ep. 310, 1. (Div. xvi. 12.)* where he met with the greatest indifference⁷, and out of heart as he himself was with the undertaking of Pompeius,⁷ *Ep. 326, 2. (Att. viii. 3.)* whose abandonment of the city he could not cease re-

* Juvenal, *Sat. x.* 283—286. Lucan gives an admirable portrait of the two rivals. *Phars. i.* 129—150.

greeting, harassed also by the suspicion that he sought his safety out of Italy, he performed his task with lukewarmness. He says himself that there was nothing for him to do; and he let Cæsar know that he was residing quietly on his own estates, generally at Formiæ.¹

Epp. 336.;
314. (*Att.* viii.
12.; vii. 17.)

It was not only because Pompeius was destined to be the loser in the struggle, that Cicero was so much injured by his close connexion with him. The unhappy consequences of the first false step became now more than ever apparent. So tenaciously had he clung to Pompeius, that he had frequently allowed his feeling for him to overcome his reason and discretion; but now disgusted with his leader's blunders, and with the little attention which his advice had received, he was seduced into practising deceit towards the man whom he had once so highly honoured; for we can give no milder name to his conduct towards Pompeius, when we compare the letters addressed to him from Formiæ² with those he wrote to Atticus on the same subject.³ While he led Pompeius to conclude that he was discharging his commission on the coast of Campania with zeal and success, he communicated the real state of the case to Atticus, as we have just described it. Again, from Cicero's second letter to Pompeius, in answer to his summons to join him without delay at Brundisium, the latter could have entertained no doubt of his determination to fly with him into Greece, with entire devotion to his interests; whereas, from many of his letters to Atticus, we discover that he strongly condemned this flight, and had not the slightest intention of quitting Italy. "I was deceived," he afterwards confessed to his friend, "by the hope that peace might yet be effected, and, if so, I did not choose that Cæsar should be angry with me after he had become reconciled to Pompeius."⁴ And this was all the result of his former boundless devotion to Pompeius,

² *Ep.* 334, B.
D. (*Att.* viii.
11.)

³ *Ep.* 324.;
325.; 326.
(*Att.* viii. 1,
2, 3.)

Ep. 374.
(*Att.* x. 8.)

now that his opinion of him had suffered such a change. "The bad cause he has never failed to maintain successfully." We read in another letter to Atticus: "In the best of causes he has succumbed."¹

¹ *Ep.* 322.
(*Att.* vii. 25.)

Of this good cause Cicero had more and more despaired; and when he recalled to mind the whole course of the administration of Pompeius, he could not but observe how it had been calculated to bring about the existing state of things. In one of the letters which we have just described as so contradictory to those addressed to Pompeius, he writes: "Our Pompeius has acted without either discretion or courage, and, I may add, entirely in opposition to my advice. Of his former acts I do not wish now to speak; how he encouraged and supported Cæsar, and placed arms in his hands against the Republic; how he caused laws to be passed by compulsion, in express contradiction to the Auspices; how he added the Further Gaul to Cæsar's province, and connected himself with him by marriage; how, as Augur, he countenanced, by his presence, the adoption of Clodius; how he testified more anxiety to procure my recall to Rome than he did to retain me there; how he prolonged the term of Cæsar's government, and contributed, in various ways, to augment his power during his absence; or, finally, how the same Pompeius, who in his third Consulship undertook the preservation of the Republic, suffered ten of the Tribunes to procure a law allowing Cæsar's claim of absence, and even sanctioned it by a decree of his own; how, moreover, he opposed the Consul Marcellus when he required Cæsar's recall. Passing over all this, what could be more disgraceful, what more ill advised, than this retreat, or rather this shameful flight from the city?"² It is curious to observe in this passage how his old wrongs recurred to his mind after so long an interval, and how completely

² *Ep.* 326, 2.
(*Att.* viii. 3.);
comp. 294, 3.
(*Att.* vii. 3.)

he forgets, while detailing all these grievances, the active part he himself had taken in most of the transactions he blames. He resented not having been taken into counsel by the Pompeians in any of their measures¹; and this feeling, to which was added his indignation at the flight from Rome, is plainly discernible also in the letter he wrote to Pompeius with the express design of removing all doubts of his devotion.² The Emperor himself must have divined what was in his correspondent's mind when he read the words: "I recollected that, in return for the important services I had rendered the State, I had been made to suffer the most wretched and cruel of punishments."

¹ *Ep.* 318.
(*Att.* vii. 21.)

² *Ep.* 334. D.
(*Att.* viii. 11.)

Nevertheless, his affection for the man was not extinguished. "I was moved to indignation against him," he wrote, while Pompeius was besieged by Cæsar in Brundisium, "when I reflected upon the errors of the last ten years; which period embraces the year of my own great affliction, from which, to say the least, he made no attempt to shield me. Now, however, I have forgiven all that, and allow myself only to think of his good deeds and the dignity of his character. Like that man in Homer, who to the words of his divine mother —

Αὐτίκα γὰρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πόντος ἐτοῖμος, —
replied,

*Αὐτίκα τεθνηῖν, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ
Κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῦναι*³ —

³ *Iliad*, xviii.
96—99.

so say I, and with how much more reason, since Pompeius is not only my friend, but my patron? Such a man too as he is! and engaged in such a cause!"⁴ Cicero's position was, in fact, a melancholy one; he hated where he should have admired, and loved where his judgment offered him only an object of compassion.⁵

⁴ *Ep.* 346.
(*Att.* ix. 5.)

⁵ *Comp. Ep.*
337. (*Att.* viii.
18.)

Whilst Cæsar was rapidly advancing to Brundisium, Cicero was in a state of intense uneasiness, and undecided how to act. Should he repair to Pompeius whilst he was yet in Italy? In obedience to a summons from him he had already set out to join him, when, on a false report of Cæsar's approach, he was induced to retrace his steps.¹ *Ep.* 334. D. (*Att.* viii. 11.) Again he hesitated whether to follow Pompeius in the event of his leaving Italy. In this distress he determined to occupy himself with the discussion of various theses and questions suggested by the actual position of affairs.² *Ep.* 345. (*Att.* ix. 4.) At other times he called up to his imagination the ideal hero whom, in his treatise on the Republic, he had portrayed as its supreme director.³ Had he not been morally blind, he must have confessed that Cæsar was the man, as nearly as human imperfections allow; that Pompeius was not so he was now sufficiently persuaded. Cæsar, indeed, he acknowledged to be "a prodigy of vigilance and energy."⁴ "Have you ever," his friend Cælius asks, *Ep.* 332, 3. (*Att.* viii. 9.) "read or heard of a man more vigorous in action, or more moderate in the use of victory than our Cæsar?"⁵ *Ep.* 335. (*Div.* viii. 15.)

Cæsar, meanwhile, since his passage of the Rubicon, had made several attempts to gain Cicero. He was annoyed at finding that so many of the leading men had quitted the city with Pompeius, and on January 24th he sent Trebatius to Cicero to entreat him to return, assuring him that his so doing would afford him the highest satisfaction.⁶ To this Cicero made the reply before adverted to, namely, that he was residing quietly on his estates. Cæsar then wrote with his own hand, and repeated his request, and his confidential friend Balbus likewise addressed him to the same effect.⁷ Cicero replied, as prudence and the respect due to Cæsar's position demanded, *Epp.* 325.; 339. (*Att.* viii. 1. 15.) but gave no hope of acceding, contenting himself merely with an exhortation to peace.⁸ The great Emperor knew *Ep.* 332, 1. (*Att.* viii. 9.)

well the advantage to his cause of the acquisition of such a man as Cicero; nevertheless he evinced great moderation on this occasion, and made no attempt at coercion. He expressed himself pleased at his remaining neutral, and begged him to continue so.¹ Again, during his hasty march to Brundisium, he found time to write him another friendly letter, begging him to come to Rome, where he hoped soon to profit in person from his advice, while he thanked him for keeping away from the camp of Pompeius. Cicero next received the copy of a missive from Cæsar to his friends Balbus and Oppius, in which he still threw out hopes of a reconciliation with Pompeius, and distinctly explained the maxims on which he intended to govern. "I will endeavour," he says, "to win the favour of all men by moderation, and to secure a lasting victory. Others have incurred odium by their cruelty, and yet have not been able long to maintain their conquest; Sulla only excepted, whom I have no intention of imitating."* But all Cæsar's efforts were in vain. Cicero's imagination too vividly depicted to him the anticipated consequences of his victory; the proscription of the Optimates and the promotion of the conqueror's creatures; the abolition of debts; the confiscation of property. "Laws, tribunals, Senates, no longer exist: no property, public or private, will suffice to satisfy the cravings of those needy upstarts."² How can this man act otherwise than wickedly? His life and manners, his former actions and present undertakings, his companions, and even his steadfastness of purpose, are so many pledges of what we have to expect from him."³ In reply to Cæsar's last letter, Cicero ex-

Ep. 334, 2.
Att. viii. 11.)

² *Ep.* 348.
(*Att.* ix. 7.)

Ep. 343, 2.
Att. ix. 2.)

* These letters of Cæsar, addressed to Cicero, Oppius, and Balbus, have come down to us enclosed in *Epp.* 347. and 348. (*Att.* ix. 6, 7.) In *Ep.* 350, 3. (*Att.* ix. 9.) Cicero comments in his own manner on Cæsar's kindly letter.

pressed his willingness to use all his efforts for the promotion of peace, but begged that he might be permitted to retain his gratitude to Pompeius.¹ It was this strong feeling of gratitude which impelled him still to adhere to his ancient benefactor, notwithstanding the frightful threats he held out of what he would do if he gained the upper hand; how he would reduce Rome and Italy by starvation; how he would devastate the country with fire and sword; and give up to plunder the possessions of the wealthy. "Our Cnæus," Cicero writes, "is terribly ambitious of such a royalty as Sulla's."² He was deterred from immediately following him by these forebodings. "Shall I," he writes, "who have been called the Saviour of the city, the father of my country,—shall I lead into it an army of Getæ, Armenians, and Colchians? * Shall I bring famine and devastation into Italy?"³ He shuddered at the bare idea; but when premature tidings reached him of Pompeius' departure from Italy, he was seized with regret at not having accompanied him. In the same letter to Atticus he says: "He had performed no great action which should have made me wish to follow him; but now my old affection for him revives. I cannot endure the longing desire I have to be with him; books, studies, philosophy, cease to interest me: like the bird of Plato, I gaze day and night on the sea and long to fly over it.† . . . As they say the sick man has hope whilst he has breath, so I refused to abandon myself to despair as long as Pompeius remained in Italy; but now the sun seems to have disappeared from the horizon."⁴

¹ *Ep.* 352, copy. (*Att.* ix. 11.)

² *Ep.* 348.; comp. 352. (*Att.* ix. 7. 11.)

³ *Ep.* 351. (*Att.* ix. 10.)

⁴ *Ep.* 351. (*Att.* ix. 10.)

To follow Cicero through the mazes of his ever shifting aims and purposes is no easy task; and yet more difficult

* Cicero plainly perceived that the hopes of Pompeius rested on the Eastern provinces and the allies.

† See the ninth of the letters ascribed to Plato.

would it be to give in a short space any adequate picture of these alternations. At one moment he rests his hopes on the terror inspired by the mere name of Pompeius; and in the next despairs of him altogether¹;—now calling to mind all that he had suffered from him, he bitterly inveighs against the man he had once so highly extolled; and then again overflows with gratitude for past benefits. By turns he admires and despises Cæsar; at one time resolved to adhere faithfully to Pompeius, his determination soon gave way before his distrust and indignation. Now he seems to forget himself in his love of his country and his leader; and then allows himself to be swayed solely by his selfish interests.² Never was there a nature more susceptible or more guided by impulse than that of Cicero; and often as our indignation is roused against him by many of the letters of this period, we cannot help feeling compassion for him, and gladly recall to our remembrance the magnanimity which shone in him so brightly in former times; while we linger upon the traits of love and friendship which even now are not wanting.*

Cæsar quitted Brundisium soon after its surrender, with the intention of reaching Rome by the 1st of April. The number of his adherents had been much increased by his late brilliant successes; and many of the leading citizens, who had left Rome some weeks before, now returned thither. On the 27th of March he was at Sinuessa. The day before, Cicero had received another letter from him, couched in the most flattering terms, and repeating the request to join him at Rome.

“You have augured rightly of me,” such were his words, “and have proved your knowledge of my character,

* Thus we find him in his direst perplexity constantly remembering his dear friend Tiro, and even anxious to extenuate, in addressing him, the excessive wretchedness of his own feelings. See *Epp.* 301.; 310.; 313.; 328, 2.; 329, 3.; 358, 2.

Ep. 329, 3.;
330. (*Att.* viii.
6, 7.)

Ep. 336.
(*Att.* viii. 12.)

in deeming that nothing is more alien from my nature than cruelty. This in itself gives me much pleasure: I rejoice, I triumph in having my actions approved by you.”¹ *Ep. 357*
(*Att. ix. 16.*)

The praise which Cæsar bestows upon Dolabella in this letter, and his assurances of regard for him, seem to have been intended as a bait to allure his father-in-law to Rome. But Cicero could not justify it to himself to accept this invitation, and had even power to resist the yet stronger temptation which Cæsar’s actual arrival at Formiæ on the 28th offered to his vacillating nature. In this interview, Cæsar once again urged him to return, on the plea that his continued absence from the city would be taken as implying condemnation of his measures. But he remained unshaken. His case, he said, differed from that of the others. “Well then, propose terms of peace,” Cæsar suggested: and to Cicero’s question, whether this should be based on his own principles? he answered: “I desire not to prescribe to you in anything.” “Then,” said Cicero, “I must declare to you that your intention of repairing to Spain, or of transporting an army into Greece, is against the will of the Senate.” “I will not hear of that!” exclaimed Cæsar. “I knew it,” said Cicero, “and therefore I will not appear in Rome: for I have no choice, but to speak of this, and much more on which silence is impossible.” Cæsar then endeavoured to break off the conference amicably, for he was determined not to provoke a rupture with a man whom he esteemed so highly; and merely begging him to consider the matter, he took his leave. Cicero was highly satisfied with himself for having remained firm to his character and principles in this trying interview; and he breathed more freely now that it was over. In the letter to Atticus in which he relates the circumstances of it, he says: “I am pleased with myself, which has not been the case with

me for a long time.”* Speaking of the effect of his language upon Cæsar, he says: “I have spoken in such a manner as to give him more cause to think well of me than to thank me.” We have already seen what sort of impression the followers of Cæsar made upon him. Raised as he himself had been by his own exertions to the rank he now enjoyed, and placing himself, as he aspired to do, on an equality with the most ancient families¹, he stigmatizes with the opprobrious epithet of a “*kingdom of the dead*” [*troop of shadows*][†] these men who were destined to stamp a new character on the Roman world.²

From Formiæ Cicero repaired to Arpinum, and there bestowed upon his son, who had now attained his sixteenth year, the gown of manhood. His fellow citizens testified their gratitude for the honour he conferred upon them in selecting his native city for the ceremony, which he was prevented from performing in Rome itself.³

Still under the influence of his inextinguishable affection for his old patron, he was now fully resolved to follow him into Greece. “Let me go,” he writes from Brundisium, “where my desires draw me; and abandoning all my possessions, let me follow him to whom my appearance at this juncture will occasion more joy than if we had continued together. When we were together last, we had great cause for hope; but now, I at least am in utter despair. Except myself, no man has left Italy that does not regard Cæsar as his enemy.” His determination to join Pompeius was hastened by the persuasions of his

* *Ego me amavi; quod mihi jampridem in usu non venit.*

† *Νεκύια*. [The same expression occurs in previous letters, and Cicero himself ascribes it to Atticus. It alludes to the grisly phantoms which thronged about Ulysses when he poured the libation of blood into the trench:

Τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ ἐυχωλῆσι λιτῆσι τε, ἔθνεα νέκρων,
Ἑλλισάμην, ῥέε δ' αἶμα κελαινεφές· αἱ δ' ἀγέροντο
Ψυχαὶ ὑπὲξ Ἑρέβους νεκύων κατατεθνειώτων.]

¹ *Ep.* 244, 3.
(*Div.* iii. 7.)

² *Ep.* 359.;
comp. 360.
(*Att.* ix. 18,
19.)

³ *Epp.* 358, 1.;
360. (*Att.* ix.
17. 19.)

brother, at whose villa he spent some days in the beginning of April.¹ Quintus had himself now broken with Cæsar, whose favour he had formerly enjoyed chiefly on his brother's account. Still, Cicero hesitated before taking the decided step; and the urgent entreaties of Terentia and Tullia, who had joined him at Formiæ early in February², induced him at one time to think of going to Melita, and there awaiting the issue of the Spanish campaign³, for he felt it impossible to remain in Italy under Cæsar's government; though he continued to receive assurances of forgiveness for his refusal to return to the Senate, and of Cæsar's readiness to put the best construction upon it.⁴ He was apprehensive of harsher treatment: and to others, in fact, Cæsar seems to have expressed himself less tolerantly in regard to his conduct.⁵ But neither fear nor respect for the master of Italy could now work a change in his resolution. He was strengthened in his previous opinion of Cæsar's cruelty and disregard for the laws by a conversation he had with Curio, who, being sent with three legions to Sicily, visited him on the way at his villa near Cumæ. Curio informed him of the desperate condition of Pompeius; of Cæsar's violence towards the Tribune Metellus, who had opposed his seizing the public treasure; and expressed at the same time his expectation that the Emperor would restore all who had been condemned by the Pompeian law.*⁶ At this time Cicero was deeply pained by the conduct of the younger Quintus, who went to Rome, and informed Cæsar of his father's and uncle's intention of leaving Italy. Notwithstanding his affection for his nephew, he had always treated him more austere-ly than his indulgent

¹ *Epp.* 361—364. (*Att.* x. 1—3.); *Epp.* 404, 2.; 407, 1.; 434. (*Att.* xi. 9. 12.; *Div.* xiii. 29.)

² *Epp.* 315, 1.; 317. (*Att.* vii. 18. 20.)

³ *Epp.* 374.; 375. (*Att.* x. 9.)

⁴ *Ep.* 364. (*Att.* x. 3.)

⁵ *Ep.* 367. (*Div.* viii. 16.)

⁶ *Ep.* 366, 3. (*Att.* x. 4.)

* "Could I endure to behold Gabinius sitting by me in the Senate, and to have to vote with him?" *Ep.* 374. (*Att.* x. 8.) With what pain must he now have recollected his own former defence of this man!

father, and was now convinced that he had been induced to take this step by the hope of ample remuneration.¹

¹ *Epp.* 364, 1.;
370, 4. (*Att.*
x. 3, 7.)

More and more urgent became the admonitions he now received to remain in Italy. Cælius, who was obliged to accompany Cæsar into Spain, gave him reason to apprehend the worst from his master's anger if he were too far provoked; Cæsar could not, he said, brook his continued absence from Rome, and he painted in the liveliest colours the irritation he displayed on leaving the Senate previously to his departure for Spain.*²

Ep. 367.;
comp. 375.
(*Div.* viii. 16.;
Att. x. 9.)

Antonius, who acted with the title of Proprætor as Cæsar's vicegerent in Italy, and scandalized Cicero by making his progress through the cities, accompanied by the dancer Cytheris and other profligate women³, went so far as to declare, though in courteous terms, that he would not permit him to leave the country; and referred him to Cæsar, who himself wrote him a letter to the same effect whilst on his march.⁴

Ep. 376.
(*Att.* x. 10.)

⁴ *Epp.* 374,
copies; 376.
(*Att.* x. 8.
10.)

Cicero remained at his Cuman villa, whither he had gone on the 14th April, till the middle of May, when he left it for his estate near Pompeii, and there remained till quitting Italy.⁵

⁵ *Ep.* 366.;
382. (*Att.* x.
4. 16.)

All this time he was a prey to distressing reflections. Tullia, who was with him and expecting her confinement, joined her entreaties to those of Terentia to induce him to remain; and Atticus also wished to retain him in Italy, at least to the close of the Spanish campaign. Of Tullia, whose instances were generally very influential with him, he writes: "Her virtue excites my admiration. How nobly she bears the public calamities, and her own domestic troubles!† With what courage does she contemplate my approaching departure! Great as her love for

* Cæsar quitted Rome for Spain on the 9th April.

† Her marriage with the spendthrift Dolabella had proved unfortunate.

me is, and entirely as she is wrapped up in me, she only wishes me to act in a manner worthy of myself and of good men's approbation."¹ His friend the Consular Sul-^{1 Ep. 374. (Att. x. 8.)} picius, who had held out hopes of accompanying him to Greece, was still undecided when he joined him at Cumæ.^{2 2 Epp. 371.; 380. (Div. iv. 2.; Att. x. 14.)} The letters of Antonius, which Cicero denominates a Spartan *Scytale*³ [an official order], led him to anticipate^{3 Ep. 376. (Att. x. 10.)} violent measures from him, should he disregard his admonitions; and besides all this, it was not the right season of the year for sailing.*⁴

^{4 Ep. 383, 4. (Att. x. 17.)}

At one time Cicero conceived the idea of venturing on an enterprise similar to that of Cælius in the time of Sulla †; but under existing circumstances, such an at-

* Cicero dates this letter the 16th May, according to the calendar of that time, which was not yet altered. This date falls in March. [The following time table, from Fischer's *Römische Zeittafeln*, p. 221., will be useful for reference.

| | | | | |
|-----------|--------|---|----------|----------|
| A. U. 691 | 1 Jan. | = | 14 March | 63 B. C. |
| „ 692 | „ | = | 4 March | 62 „ |
| „ 693 | „ | = | 22 Feb. | 61 „ |
| „ 694 | „ | = | 11 Feb. | 60 „ |
| „ 695 | „ | = | 1 Feb. | 59 „ |
| „ 696 | „ | = | 22 Jan. | 58 „ |
| „ 697 | „ | = | 12 Jan. | 57 „ |
| „ 698 | „ | = | 1 Jan. | 56 „ |
| „ 699 | „ | = | 22 Dec. | 56 „ |
| „ 700 | „ | = | 12 Dec. | 55 „ |
| „ 701 | „ | = | 2 Dec. | 54 „ |
| „ 702 | „ | = | 21 Nov. | 53 „ |
| „ 703 | „ | = | 3 Dec. | 52 „ |
| „ 704 | „ | = | 23 Nov. | 51 „ |
| „ 705 | „ | = | 13 Nov. | 50 „ |
| „ 706 | „ | = | 2 Nov. | 49 „ |
| „ 707 | „ | = | 23 Oct. | 48 „ |
| „ 708 | „ | = | 13 Oct. | 47 „ |

After the reformation of the calendar in this year, Jan. 1 A. U. = Jan. 1 B. C.]

† In conjunction with Carbo who commanded the remnant of Marius and Cinna's armies, this Cælius collected an army in the south of Italy to oppose Sulla, by whom he was soon crushed.

tempt would have been little short of madness, and, as soon became evident, he was not the man to abide by a daring resolution.¹ He also flattered himself with the hope that Cæsar would not long be able to maintain his authority; a hope which was strengthened by the popular murmurs at his seizing the treasure.² Cato, who held Sicily for the Pompeians, had abandoned the island to Curio, which excited Cicero's vehement displeasure³; though we cannot imagine that he would himself have displayed more firmness.* Thus harassed and perplexed he adhered to his purpose of leaving Italy, and at length, on June 11th, accompanied by his son, he set sail from Cæieta with the intention of joining Pompeius, and was followed by Quintus both father and son.⁴

¹ *Epp.* 378.; 380.; 382.
(*Att.* x. 12.
14. 16.)

² *Ep.* 374.
(*Att.* x. 8.)

³ *Ep.* 382, 3.
(*Att.* x. 16.)

⁴ *Ep.* 385. *
(*Div.* xiv. 7.)

Thus he once more turned his back upon Rome and Italy, and all that was dearest to him. One consolation accompanied him, which he thus expresses in writing to his friend: "My mind dwells not upon the honours and dignity I have lost, but on my past achievements; the deeds I have accomplished, the reputation I have enjoyed. My conscience sustains me when I reflect that while I was able I served the State to the best of my abilities, that my intentions towards it were the most honourable, and that I foresaw, fourteen years ago, the storm which has overwhelmed it: with such a conscience for my companion I take my departure."⁵

⁵ *Ep.* 366, 1.
(*Att.* x. 4.)

From the time of Cicero's departure from Italy till the beginning of the following February we are without any letters; and there are but four letters to Atticus written from Epirus and from the camp of Pompeius⁶, besides a

⁶ *Epp.* 386.; 387.; 391.; 392. (*Att.* xi. 1-4.)

* Cicero was unjust towards Cato as he had been when, in the month of January, he wrote: "Cato would sooner submit to the tyrant than fight." *Ep.* 309. (*Att.* vii. 15.)

few brief notes to Terentia, from that month till the middle of July.*

Cæsar, meanwhile, was making rapid strides in his career of victory. Leaving Rome on the 9th of April¹,¹ A. U. 705. and taking Gaul in his way, where he entrusted the siege of Massilia to Trebonius, he pressed forward into Spain, and in forty days annihilated the power of Afranius and Petreius the legates of Pompeius.² In the middle of August Massilia surrendered, and was made to pay dearly for its long resistance. Cæsar then returned to Rome, where he had been created Dictator during his absence. Not choosing to recall the memory of Sulla, he only retained this title eleven days, during which time he made use of its extensive powers to cause himself to be elected Consul for the ensuing year, with a colleague of his own naming. After making several important regulations, especially as regarded debtors and creditors, he started on the 27th December † for the final struggle with his antagonist in Greece. And now once again Pompeius appeared in the character of a great general, and many were the dangers and difficulties his adversary had to encounter, and which his good fortune alone could have enabled him to overcome, before his final victory at Pharsalia on the 9th of August 706.

² From 25th June to 2nd Aug.; Cæs. *Bell. Civ.* li. 32.

* For this seventh book we have 135 letters. (These are from *Ep.* 281. to 394. in Schütz's edition.) Of these eighty-seven are addressed to Atticus, seven to Terentia and Tullia, four to Tiro, two to Mescinius Rufus, Cicero's former Quæstor, two to the Consular Servius Sulpicius, one to Cælius; from the latter to Cicero we have three letters, and one from Dolabella. Besides these 114, there are twenty copies of letters; two from Pompeius to Cicero, and as many from the latter to him; three from Cæsar to Cicero, with one from him in answer; three to Domitius, and one to the Consuls Lentulus and Marcellus from Pompeius; two from Cæsar to Oppius and Balbus; five from the two latter and from Matius and Trebatius to Cicero; and two to the same from M. Antonius.

† We must make allowances here also for the disordered calendar.

On reaching his Imperator, Cicero saw realized before his eyes the errors he might have anticipated from his previous conduct. The period of Cæsar's absence in the west, which Pompeius might have used to recover his fortunes in Italy, had been lost in preparations, considerable indeed, and calculated to check the enemy on his arrival, but not finally to overthrow him.

"You ask for letters from me," Cicero writes in the beginning of July, when the decisive battle was approaching; "but there is nothing worth writing about; neither the events which happen nor the measures which are adopted are such as to give me any sort of satisfaction."¹

He could not fail to observe that his presence was useless to Pompeius. He would undertake no duties of any kind, because, as he himself confessed, there were none that suited him.² The language of the Pompeians terrified him, and he shuddered at the thought of their gaining the ascendancy when he heard them breathing fury against their opponents.³

The few letters of this period to Atticus which remain to us evince the mental dejection into which he had fallen. If we may believe Plutarch⁴, whose account agrees well with our knowledge of the man, Cato even reproved him for having come over into Greece; saying, that for himself it would not have beseemed him to abandon the cause to which he had devoted his life, but that Cicero ought to have maintained his neutrality, in order that after the event he might have been able to take part in public business; adding, that for his own sake it behoved him to have avoided making Cæsar his enemy.*

* According to the same author Pompeius did not desire Cicero's presence, and reproached him for going about the camp peevishly, and deriding the arrangements which were not agreeable to his opinions. We may see from the second Philippic (c. 16.) that there was some truth in this.

¹ *Ep.* 392.
(*Att.* xi. 4.)

² *Ep.* 392.
(*Att.* xi. 4.)

³ *Ep.* 452.
(*Div.* vii. 3.)

⁴ *Plut. Cíc.*
39.

Cicero himself only tells us, that as the exhortations to peace which he had not ceased to urge ever since his arrival in Greece were unheeded, he recommended Pompeius to protract the war. The advantage gained over Cæsar at Dyrrachium might have led to more important results had Pompeius followed his advice; as it was, it only served to increase his self-confidence, and his partizans urged him on to a decisive conflict. "From that time," Cicero says, "the greatest of men became nothing of a general."¹

¹ *Ep.* 452.
(*Div.* vii. 3.)

His own anxieties were at this time enhanced by pecuniary embarrassments. His gains from his province, amounting to 2,200,000 sesterces *, which sum he had deposited in the hands of the Publicani at Ephesus, had been appropriated by Pompeius, who was now in great distress for money²; and, besides this, the time had arrived for the payment of a second instalment of Tullia's marriage portion to Dolabella, and as a divorce between them

² *Ep.* 391.
(*Att.* xi. 3.)

* We find, from comparing *Ep.* 386. with 387. (*Att.* xi. 1. 2.), that this was not the entire amount of his gains, as he writes to his former Quæstor, Rufus, *Ep.* 302, 5. (*Div.* v. 20.) See the remarks in Schütz's edition on this *Ep.* [On this subject Cicero's statements are confused. His affairs were embarrassed, his calculations of income from his estates inaccurate, and he knew perhaps very little about the state of his accounts. To Rufus he states (*Ep.* 302, 5.) that the whole of his gains from his province, deposited at Ephesus (2,200,000 sest.), had been extorted from him by loan by Pompeius as early as Jan. 705; but, in speaking of his resources to Atticus, Feb. 706, he reckons a similar sum, meaning apparently the same, in Asia. *Ep.* 386. Again, in *Ep.* 387., he states that he has withdrawn one half of this sum. I am inclined to suppose, in opposition to Abeken, that Cicero had realized no more than the single sum of 2,200,000 sest. from his province; that Pompeius had borrowed, or perhaps only proposed to borrow it, Jan. 705, but if borrowed had repaid it the same year; and that Cicero forgets in *Ep.* 386. that he had already withdrawn half the sum he there mentions as belonging to him. Abeken's view would fix upon Cicero a direct falsehood, besides the crime of realizing twice the sum from his province which he himself allows to be legitimate.]

seemed not improbable, Cicero was in some perplexity how to act.¹ If he paid the money, it would in all probability soon be squandered by his spendthrift son-in-law, and there would be small hope of his ever recovering it in the event of a separation; at the same time it was by no means desirable to come to an open rupture with Dolabella, as he was high in Cæsar's favour. Under the pressure of all these troubles he at length fell seriously ill.²

At this juncture he felt little inclined to sympathize with Cælius, who expressed the bitter regret he now felt at having yielded to Curio's persuasions and embraced Cæsar's cause.³ Much greater was the effect produced upon him by a letter from Dolabella at Rome, while Cæsar was at Dyrrachium, exhorting him, in the most earnest and friendly manner, to abandon the Pompeian cause, and remain quietly at Athens or elsewhere⁴; it was, in fact, in reliance upon a similar letter from his son-in-law, containing assurances of Cæsar's favour, that he soon after returned to Italy, not knowing what might there await him.⁵

After the battle of Pharsalia, at which he was not present*, being detained by sickness at Dyrrachium⁶, without waiting for an express permission he crossed over to Brundisium, whence he wrote, Nov. 4., to Terentia.⁷

At Brundisium he was informed of the death of Pompeius. "I never doubted," he writes to Atticus, "that such would be his end; such utter despair of success possessed the minds of all, both kings and people, that, go where he might, this I was convinced must ensue. I cannot but lament his death, for I knew him to be a man of virtue, sobriety, and integrity."⁸

This book we will conclude with a general survey of the

* His son seems to have been engaged in the action as a cavalry officer, at least if the passage *De Off.* ii. 13. refers to the battle of Pharsalia.

¹ *Ep.* 392.; comp. 416, 2. (*Att.* xi. 4. 25.)

² *Ep.* 392. (*Att.* xi. 4.)

³ *Ep.* 388. (*Div.* viii. 17.)

⁴ *Ep.* 389. (*Div.* ix. 9.)

⁵ *Ep.* 400, 1. (*Att.* xi. 7.)

⁶ *Plut. Cic.* 39.

⁷ *Ep.* 395. (*Div.* xiv. 12.)

⁸ *Epp.* 298, 1.; 400, 1. (*Att.* xi. 6, 7.)

period it treats of. It forms a part of one of the most remarkable epochs in the world's history; an epoch in which men, whose names rank amongst the most illustrious of any age, appear upon the scene; men such as Cæsar and Pompeius, and many others to whom we assign a second rank only because their lot was cast in the same age with these extraordinary characters. From the contemplation of an epoch like this, in which the highest interests of nations were at stake, and the most powerful springs of political action opposed to one another, even our own times may derive instruction. As regards Cicero himself, this period is also one of great importance; and, fortunately for us, it is more prolific in letters than any other, and these too for the most part addressed to Atticus, and consequently giving us an insight into his inmost soul.* We may indeed account it a rare good fortune that documents relating to an age of such infinite grandeur and importance should have come down to us; documents, too, in which the characters and actions of its leading personages are fully revealed to the eyes of the intelligent reader. Of the *intelligent* reader, indeed, alone; for it must be confessed that, except in the few letters of a Cæsar, a Pompeius, or an Antonius, the characters exhibited are only reflected in the mirror of Cicero's own mind, troubled and distorted as it frequently was. Even Pompeius, whom he knew so intimately, is placed at times too high—at others, too low; nevertheless, we can recognize, in the delineation, the heir of Sulla's power and principles.† Cicero's faith in the old Republic, of which he could never divest himself altogether, renders him still

* We have twenty-two letters to Atticus alone, written in Feb. 705. There are twenty-four written in March.

† In reference to Pompeius the *Epp.* 352., 348., and 398. (*Att.* ix. 11. 7 and xi. 6.) are highly important.

more blind with regard to Cæsar, who nevertheless stands out in bold relief as the greatest statesman and hero of his day, and whose conduct towards Cicero himself cannot fail to interest and please us. The main interest, however, of these letters, consists in the light they throw upon the character of the writer himself, which, notwithstanding his false views and ever varying sentiments and resolves, is distinctly exposed to our view. In his letters to Atticus he does not spare himself. We discern throughout them his weak side, his prejudices, his irresolution, and frequently his overweening and mistaken self-confidence; we are more than ever assured that, however refined was his mental culture,—such, indeed, as no earlier age could have given,—however great were the special acts he performed for the Commonwealth, he was deficient in the moral force and grandeur indispensable to one who aspired to control the age, or even to keep his proper place in it. Cato, though not entirely exempt from blame, had at least the glory of remaining true to his own views, and following them even to death; but what period is there in the life of Cicero in which he may not be taxed with feebleness, with shuffling, with shrinking from his principles?

Non omnia possumus omnes.

Cicero was endowed by nature with a keen susceptibility to the noble and beautiful; and with a mind peculiarly alive to every impression. Cherishing, moreover, a deep reverence for morality, justice, and order, he gladly turned his thoughts from the corruptions of the age, and took refuge in the contemplation of the nobler past.*

* How far was Rome at that period from the ideal of a well-constituted State, such as Cicero describes in his treatise *de Legibus* (iii. 12.)! *Ita res habet, ut si senatus dominus sit publici consilii, quodque is creverit, defendant omnes, et si reliqui ordines principis ordinis consilio rempublicam gubernari velint, possit ex temperantia juris, quum potestas in populo, auctoritas in senatu sit, teneri ille moderatus et concors civitatis status.*

To a spirit thus appointed, so delicately bred from its youth upward, the principles of aristocracy were no more than natural. In the society of the Optimates or the Best Men he found his congenial elements: through them he had attained greatness, and them he wished to bear rule. Accordingly, we must not reproach him with his incapacity for understanding Cæsar, and with finding in Cæsar's followers "a kingdom of the dead."¹ His was ^{See p. 298.} not a nature which could endure being torn up by the roots; and nobler motives for his enmity to the great Dictator might be found in his gratitude and regard for Pompeius, and his fond adherence to a constitution which had been the glory of centuries. On this all his greatness was founded: this had been the object of his life-long care; and it was not therefore possible that he whose mission it was to destroy it should ever gain his real affections. In this one point he remained true to himself amidst all his wavering.

Unhappily for him, the Optimates of his day were for the most part no longer in reality the "Best Men," and thus it was impossible but that in pursuing the course he considered right, he should frequently become involved in inconsistencies and error. Living, too, in a degenerate age, he could not remain wholly untainted by the surrounding corruptions, while his habit of living by imagination in the past and the ideal only served to cloud the present, and cripple in him the energy which seizes the moment. That even in this respect he was often successful; that he vanquished as Consul a Rullus and a Catilina, and saved the State from utter ruin; that his whole career was signalized by many noble exploits, the last year of his life by glorious energy,—all this he owed especially to the circumstance of his being born and bred a Roman. Had he been endowed, on the other hand, with a less exquisite

sensibility, we should have lost the sublimest creations of his intellect. If as a statesman he was forced to succumb to Cæsar, it is refreshing to learn with what mildness the conqueror treated him, and we rejoice to think that he was destined at last to fall in a worthier struggle with Cæsar's less worthy successors.

BOOK VIII.



LETTERS OF CICERO,

**FROM THE BATTLE OF PHARSALIA TO
THE DEATH OF CÆSAR,**

IN THE YEARS

706—710. B. C. 48—44.



CICERO DURING CÆSAR'S SUPREMACY.

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BOOK VIII.

SURVEY OF HISTORICAL EVENTS.

A. U. 707. B. C. 47. CIC. 60.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, *Dictator*; M. ANTONIUS, *Magister Equitum*.

CÆSAR entrusts the government of the city and of Italy during his absence to M. Antonius. He encounters great difficulties in Egypt where he has espoused the cause of Cleopatra, but is finally successful in the month of March. He remains three months in Egypt, and then proceeds to Asia, where he conquers Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, who had usurped the throne of Pontus, and regulates the internal affairs of the country. On his return to Rome he causes Q. Fufius Calenus, and P. Vatinius, to be made Consuls for the few remaining months of this year, and himself to be elected for the next, resigning at the same time the Dictatorship. After this he again leaves Rome and proceeds to Africa to vanquish the division of the Republican army which had allied itself with Juba king of Numidia.

A. U. 708. B. C. 46. CIC. 61.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR III.; M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

At the head of an inconsiderable force Cæsar encounters the ten legions of Scipio, and the four of Juba, at Thapsus. He gains a complete victory. Juba follows the

example of Cato in Utica, and puts an end to his own life. Scipio, Faustus Sulla and Afranius perish in their flight. Cæsar reduces Numidia to a Roman province. On his return to the city, he enjoys a quadruple triumph in honour of his victories in Gaul, Egypt and Asia, together with his recent successes in Africa. He is named Dictator for ten years, and *Præfectus Morum* for three. Meanwhile Cnæus and Sextus, the sons of Pompeius, assemble a powerful force in Spain; and Cæsar having been appointed Consul, marches against them without delay. His reform of the calendar was effected in this year, which gained three additional months.

A. U. 709. B. C. 45. CIC. 62.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR IV., *sole Consul and Dictator*; M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, *Magister Equitum*.

The Pompeians are routed at Munda on the 17th of March; Cnæus Pompeius perishes in his flight. Cæsar enters Rome in triumph. His person is declared inviolable, and the Dictatorship together with the title of Imperator is decreed him by the Senate. Two Consuls are however elected as usual — Q. Fabius Maximus, (*Suffectus*, C. Caninius Rebilus,) and C. Trebonius.

A. U. 710. B. C. 44. CIC. 63.

C. JULIUS CÆSAR, *Dictator*; M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, *Magister Equitum*;
C. JULIUS CÆSAR, *Consul V.*; M. ANTONIUS.

Brutus and Cassius, with others of the Republican party, form a conspiracy against Cæsar, at this time engaged in preparations for a war with the Parthians, and assassinate him on the 15th of March.

The following letter which was written by Cicero in the December after his arrival at Brundisium, in deep dejection of mind¹, betrays a degree of weakness which even his increased afflictions cannot excuse. “The greatest alleviation you could afford my sufferings, would be to tell me that I have not entirely forfeited the esteem of good men. This, alas! you cannot now do. But should you ever have it in your power to give me such an assurance, it will be the greatest possible comfort to me. I see indeed no prospect of it as yet; but the course of events may bring about this change in men’s opinions, as it has with regard to my refusal to follow Pompeius into Egypt. For this I incurred universal opprobrium, till now that the fatal issue of that journey has induced men to moderate their disapproval of my conduct. At the present time, I am censured for not having gone into Africa, my reason being that I did not approve of seeking aid for the Republic by applying to the most faithless of all barbarians, and that to lead them against an army accustomed to victory. My motives are probably not appreciated; for I hear that many of our best men have gone into Africa*, and many, I know, have long been there.† I am sorely perplexed by all this. My sole chance of relief is in some, if not all of them, thinking better of their enterprise and consulting their own safety. For if they persist, and actually gain the day, only think what will become of me! ‘What,’ you will say, ‘will become of them if they are defeated?’ Why, their failure will be at least honourable. This is

• Cato in particular.

† Several Pompeians had collected in Africa under the former Prætor, Attius Varus, and the Numidian king, Juba. Curio marched against them, after having made himself master of Sicily, and defeated Varus; he was, however, afterwards vanquished by Juba, and lost his life in the battle. This took place as early as the year 705. Dio Cass. xli. 41, 42.

¹ *Ep.* 400, 1.;
comp. 410, 1.
(*Att.* xi. 7.
15.)

what distracts me.”¹ We must here make a remark equally applicable to all the passages in Cicero’s letters which excite our disapprobation. He is a rare instance of a man who can expose in his confidential outpourings to a friend the most secret feelings of his heart, and all the workings of an imagination which sooner or later was sure to yield to the sterner dictates of reason. Many a great man has probably been assailed in his weaker moments by similar thoughts and feelings, but he has not exposed them to the view of his fellow men, either from being more reserved than Cicero, or from having no Atticus to whom to confide them. But there is this great difference: that the weaknesses of the really great man are stifled and forgotten in his actions; whereas Cicero was subject to frequent recurrences of the constitutional dejection which was the main source of his errors.*

We have seen how greatly he valued the esteem of the good; and this he conceived himself to have forfeited by his return to Italy, which was looked upon as equivalent to a declaration of submission to the conqueror. In a later letter to Atticus, however, he says: “You wish to know what people feel and say about me. I have found no one estranged from me.”² To many of his contemporaries, Cicero’s character was as well known as it is to ourselves, and his vacillation did not surprise them. Some,

² *Ep.* 408, 1.
(*Att.* xi. 13.) ;
written in the
end of March.

* In considering Cicero’s unhappy frame of mind and self-reproaches, Hamlet’s words have often occurred to me: Cicero might at times have said with him, “I am myself indifferent honest; but yet I could accuse myself of such things that it were better my mother had not borne me. . . . We are arrant knaves, all.” Act iii. sc. 1. [The real complaint against Cicero is, not that he was weak in character or allowed himself to acknowledge weaknesses of which he was ashamed, but that his moral sense did not revolt against the inconsistency of his conduct and principles. Hamlet accuses himself; Cicero seldom or never. It is to be feared that he felt nothing of the disgrace which his admirers lament and extenuate.]

also, may have shuddered at the probable consequences of a victory gained by the infuriated Pompeians ; as a specimen of which, Lentulus * had already claimed the house of Hortensius, and Cæsar's garden and villa at Baiæ, as his share of the booty.¹ They did not wonder that Cicero should entertain some dread of the ascendancy of such a party. Writing on this subject to Atticus, he says : ¹ *Ep.* 398, 1. 3. (*Att.* xi. 6.); comp. 446.; 452. (*Div.* ix. 6.; vii. 3.)

“ True it is that Cæsar's followers make similar stipulations; but these men are insatiable.”² On this account chiefly ² *Ep.* 398, 3. (*Att.* xi. 6.) he was anxious for peace ; and this anxiety was redoubled after the battle of Pharsalia. The following is the account given by Plutarch³ : “ When the news of the ³ *Vit. Cic.* 39. defeat of Pompeius arrived at Dyrrachium, where Cicero and several of the leading Pompeians then were, Cato offered to resign to Cicero, as his superior in rank and age, the command of the fifteen cohorts which garrisoned the town. Cicero, however, declined to assume the command, and continued to urge his pacific counsels, till Sextus, the son of Pompeius, became so exasperated against him, that he called him a traitor, and drawing his sword, would have murdered him, had not Cato interfered.” Whether it was this occurrence, as some assert, that drove Cicero to separate himself abruptly from his party, and to return into Italy, trusting to Cæsar's generosity ; or whether he was moved to this step, which he speaks of himself as sudden and hasty⁴, by other circumstances unknown to us, ⁴ *Ep.* 396, 1. (*Att.* xi. 5.) one thing is clear, that he had now proved by the bitterest experience how little fitted his nature was for the times in which he lived. His lamentations and self-reproaches when speaking afterwards of this error, move our pity⁵ : ⁵ *Ep.* 410, 1.; comp. 416, 1. (*Att.* xi. 15. 25.) nor can we greatly blame him for the error itself, for steadier politicians than himself might have now discerned

* Consul in the year 705.

that the struggle had become purely a party question, and that the State could look for salvation to the Cæsarians alone; but we do blame him, when we find him seeking by unworthy excuses to justify his desertion of a cause he had once so warmly espoused.

The letters to Atticus written from Brundisium, from the beginning of November, 706, to the end of the following August*, are the most melancholy of the whole collection. During the period of his exile, Cicero had been harassed by the dread of a reckless and uncompromising adversary; but now he had a nearer and more formidable foe than Clodius in his own uneasy conscience. Thus, while the letters of the former period are more passionate and querulous in tone than those we have now to consider, they do not betray the same painful state of discontent with himself. Then, he had been deserted by a powerful friend in whom he trusted; but now, it was himself who had proved false to that same friend. Then, he was living in banishment from his beloved country, but was supported in the moment of his deepest despondency by the hope of being yet again restored to it; now, he was indeed residing in his own country, but it was no longer the same to him, and the contemplation of its present condition added a sting to his self-reproaches. Besides this he was under constant anxiety as to the reception his conduct would meet with from Cæsar¹; and this made him fearful of leaving Brundisium to rejoin his family and Atticus, notwithstanding their urgent appeals and the longing he felt for their society.² He could not flatter himself that Antonius, left by Cæsar at the head of affairs in Italy, entertained any friendly disposition towards him.³

¹ *Ep.* 398, 1.
(*Att.* xi. 6.);
and l. 1.

² *Epp.* 396, 2.;
397. (*Att.* xi.
8.; *Div.* xiv.
19.)

³ *Ep.* 404, 1.
Att. xi. 9.)

* We possess of this period of time twenty-one letters to Atticus and twelve brief ones to Terentia, besides one to C. Cassius who was with Cæsar.

When Cæsar, deceived by false intelligence, imagined Cato to be in Italy, and expressed his displeasure at it to Antonius, the latter wrote to Cicero, and in the same polite terms he had used before the battle of Pharsalia, informed him that he was to leave Italy; and it was only on Dolabella's assurance that his father-in-law had come there in accordance with Cæsar's wishes, that he at length consented to frame an edict expunging Cicero's name from the list of those who were forbidden to remain in the country. This edict was in itself a cause of vexation to Cicero, inasmuch as it openly represented him as a deserter from his party.*

Whether Cæsar had expressed such a wish before the battle of Pharsalia, or whether Cicero so interpreted Dolabella's letter from Greece in his favour¹, we cannot with certainty decide; but it is evident from many of his letters that he still harboured distrust of the conqueror, whose clemency he had so often experienced. He feared that some one might have whispered to Cæsar that he repented of having returned to Italy; that he was dissatisfied with the new order of things.² He might apprehend that the opposition Cæsar met with in Egypt had had the effect of further irritating him. From December,

¹ *Ep.* 389.
(*Div.* ix. 9.)

² *Ep.* 400, 2.
(*Att.* xi. 7.)

* *Ep.* 400, 1. (*Att.* xi. 7.) [*Tum ille edixit ita ut me exciperet et Lælium nominatim. Quod sane nollem. Poterat enim sine nomine res ipsa excipi. See Manutius, in loc. Quo modo poterat sine nomine re ipsa fieri Ciceronis exceptio? Si sic videlicet Antonius edixisset: Ex omnibus Pompeianis ne cui liceat esse in Italia, nisi quorum causam Cæsar cognoverit, aut de quibus Cæsar scripserit. Quo edicto Cicero non nominatus re ipsa quidem exceptus esset, siquidem Dolabellæ literis gravius offendi Pompeianos intelligeret tam aperta significatione: eos porro iratos habere nolebat, si forte, ut incerti sunt bellorum exitus, victores domum revertissent; deinde quod exceptio illa nominatim facta quasi legem et necessitatem iis qui excipiebantur imponebat, ne discedere ex Italia possent, ne scilicet Cæsar's beneficium aspernari, aut etiam renuntiare viderentur; unde illud in *Ep.* 404. (*Att.* xi. 9.) "exceptionibus edictorum retineor."*]

706, to June, 707, no letters had been received in Italy from the victorious general, fully occupied and embarrassed as he was.¹ At last in July Cicero received one², but kind as was its tone, it did not remove his anxiety. "What a master gives, a master can take away," he writes to Atticus.³ He suspected also the goodwill of his friends Balbus and Oppius, Cæsar's vicegerents in Rome⁴, who had encouraged him to hope the best from their leader.⁵ The tidings of Cæsar's hazardous position in Egypt, and of the strength of the Pompeians in Africa, the general expectation moreover of their speedy return to Italy, news at which he would have rejoiced a few months earlier, now served only to increase his disquietude. He cordially hated Cæsar's cause, and indulged no hopes of personal advantage from him; while from his own party he could anticipate only injustice, and in the event of their success how could he venture to meet them? "I can discover nowhere any ground for hope," he writes to Atticus⁶, "especially since Cæsar has met with this repulse;" * and in bitter repentance of the false step he had taken in returning to Italy, he says in another letter⁷: "My own error has been my ruin. I cannot attribute my misfortunes to accident. I have brought them all upon myself."

But nothing grieved him so much as the unjustifiable conduct of his brother. Quintus it was, who in the preceding year had urged him to leave Italy and repair to Pompeius; upon which Cæsar, who in reality disliked the younger brother⁸, and had shown him favour solely on Marcus's account, remarked that he had sounded the trumpet for the latter's retreat into Greece.⁹ After the battle

¹ Ep. 412.
(Att. xi. 17.)

² Ep. 423.
(Div. xiv.
23)

³ Ep. 425.
(Att. xi. 20.)

⁴ Ep. 404, 1.
(Att. xi. 9.)

⁵ Ep. 398, 1.
(Att. xi. 6.)

⁶ Ep. 411, 1.
(Att. xi. 16.)

⁷ Ep. 404, 1.
(Att. xi. 9.)

⁸ Ep. 404, 2.
(Att. xi. 9.)

⁹ Ep. 407, 1.
(Att. xi. 12.)

* The disasters which Cæsar met with at this time are mentioned in Ep. 411, 1. He says in the same place: *Mora Alexandrina causam illorum (Pompeianorum in Asia et Grecia) correxit, meam evertit.*

of Pharsalia, however, Quintus sent his son to the conqueror*, for the double purpose of securing his own pardon, and accusing his brother, who he fancied was labouring to prejudice Cæsar against him¹: indeed he seems himself to have sought him in Asia, and to have had a personal interview with him at Antioch.²

These machinations were however ineffectual; for Cæsar knew and respected Cicero, and indeed for his sake pardoned his brother³, who as soon as he saw that Marcus was safe, wrote him a warm letter of congratulation.⁴ From our contemplation of the weak side of Cicero's character, we gladly turn to the nobler aspect in which the following trait presents it to us. On hearing that Cæsar regarded Quintus as the instigator of his brother's hostility towards him, he wrote to mollify his anger and implore forgiveness for him, notwithstanding he had treated himself so ill†⁵; he also took care that certain of Quintus's letters, which fell accidentally into his hands, and which he found to contain odious reflections upon himself, should not operate to his disadvantage.†⁶

* Probably from Patræ in Achaia; whither several Pompeians, and Quintus among them (*Ep.* 396, 5., *Att.* xi. 5.) had repaired.

† Cicero was not at that time aware of the full extent of his brother's baseness; but the latter had used violent language against him after his arrival at Brundisium. (Comp. *Ep.* 407, 1. with 404, 2.) Cicero's immediate inducement for writing this letter to Cæsar was the fear lest he should imagine he had not followed his own opinions in the choice of a party. His fraternal affection, however, is also clearly apparent in it.

‡ [A packet of Quintus's letters, directed to his friends, came it seems into Cicero's hands. Some of these he transmitted at once to the persons for whom they were intended, who presently came to him full of concern at the atrocious things they contained against him. Thereupon, Cicero opened the remaining letters (*hoc ego dolore accepto volui scire quid scripsisset ad cæteros*), and sent them to Atticus for his inspection, leaving it to his judgment whether they should be resealed (*nam quod resignatæ sunt, habet, opinor, ejus signum Pomponia*) and conveyed to their destination.

He forwarded to Atticus a copy of his intercessory letter on this occasion, and added these words: "Should I ever again find myself in Cæsar's society (although I have no doubt that he will as he promised show clemency to my brother), I shall be the same as I have always been." Thus could Cicero write, although in a previous letter he had declared¹: "My brother has acted in a manner of which I could not have deemed him capable; and he has caused me more pain than I ever felt before."

¹ *Epp.* 402.
(*Att.* xi. 8.)

He had now another cause of anxiety in the serious illness of his beloved Tullia, whose marriage with Dolabella had turned out most unhappily. She was now at Rome², and on her account Cicero denied himself the pleasure of a visit from Atticus. "Alas!" he writes³, "what a calamity! What can I say? I must be brief, for my tears gush forth as I write. I leave everything to you; do you advise me. . . . Excuse more, for my grief and tears warn me to dwell no longer on this subject. I can only add that nothing affords me so much gratification as your regard for Tullia."

² *Epp.* 397.;
398, 2. (*Div.*
xiv. 19.; *Att.*
xi. 6.)

³ *Epp.* 400, 2.
(*Att.* xi. 7.)

Much as he disliked Brundisium, which place he fancied disagreed with his health, he appears to have prolonged his residence there for ten months.⁴ During this time he received accounts of certain proceedings of his son-in-law which greatly vexed him. Dolabella, who was of the Equestrian order, had got himself adopted, as Clodius had done, into a Plebeian family, for the sake of obtaining the Tribunate, a circumstance which must in itself have caused Cicero some bitter recollections. He had been favoured by Cæsar; but embarrassed by his extravagance,

⁴ *Epp.* 410, 1.;
414.; 426.;
427, 2. (*Att.*
xi. 15. 18. 21,
22.)

This is a curious trait of the morality of the times, not so much as regards the act itself, which may perhaps admit of some excuse, as from the evident unconsciousness of the writer that it requires any.]

and desirous of popularity, he aimed at a violent measure for the reduction of debts, against the policy of Cæsar's and his lieutenant's regulations. Tumults arose in Rome, and the blood of citizens was shed; nor was tranquillity restored until Cæsar's return. Dolabella himself was however pardoned.

The antagonist of Catilina and Rullus could not witness such proceedings without distress; but the father suffered not less concern. The marriage portion of Tullia, the second instalment of which had been paid¹, her dissolute husband had squandered; and now when it was more than ever apparent that a separation between them must eventually take place, the time had arrived for the payment of the remainder of the money.² Cicero still shrank however from urging on this separation, on account of Cæsar's continued favour towards Dolabella³; but it took place at last, though at what period we are not informed. Cicero's domestic peace was further disturbed by disagreements with his wife, which ended in a divorce. Terentia appears to have incurred debts, and to have acted dishonestly by her husband's property. The name of Philotimus, of whom whilst in his province Cicero made such bitter complaints⁴, occurs in connexion with that of Terentia. He had been heard to say that she had behaved abominably.*⁵ Tullia's means depended in some measure on her mother, and on this account Cicero urged his wife to make a will, and was impatient at her delay.⁶ Having lent large sums to Pompeius, he was himself now in such want of money that he had parted with a valuable estate.⁷

In such circumstances he was unable to derive any solace even from his daughter's visit to him at Brundisium in June. One from his wife he had already declined.⁸

* [*Auditum ex Philotimo est eam scelerate quædam facere.*]

¹ *Ep.* 412.
(*Att.* xi. 17.)

With reference to his daughter's visit, he writes¹: "I do not derive all the pleasure I might expect from the society of a daughter of such rare virtue and merit, so pure and noble in nature, and so tender in her affection for me. On the contrary, it grieves me to see so much excellence involved in misery, and this owing to no fault of her own, but solely to my own unpardonable errors."

² *Ep.* 326.
(*Att.* viii. 3.)

He was now fully convinced that he had sorely deceived himself in trusting to Pompeius for the Republic; but still he could not regard Cæsar in any other light than as the cause of her ruin and of his own misfortunes. "You compare," he writes to Atticus², "the present times with those of Sulla. There was less moderation then, but men's aims were loftier and nobler." But Cæsar was now about to return, flushed with his recent successes in Greece, Egypt and Asia. The manner in which he had conducted himself towards Cicero during his absence, the disregard he had paid to the accusations of Quintus, the friendly tone in which he had addressed him, and, lastly, the permission he had accorded him of retaining the title of Impe-

³ *Pro Ligari.*
3.

rator with the laurelled fasces³ might have reassured him; but he could feel nothing but distrust. Cæsar had sent on the abusive letters of Quintus to his confidants Oppius and Balbus, and this, which he did only as marking his disapprobation of their contents, Cicero misinterpreted as a spiteful publication of his calamities.⁴ Now that the chief's return was expected, he would fain have sent his

⁴ *Ep.* 427, 1.
(*Att.* xi. 22.)

⁵ *Epp.* 412.;
413. (*Att.* xi.
17.; *Div.* ix.
4.)

⁶ *Ep.* 426.
(*Att.* xi. 21.)

son to meet him⁵; but his intentions were frustrated by some delay in Cæsar's movements. Gladly would he have avoided a personal meeting⁶, but he dared not keep aloof. Cæsar landed at Tarentum in September. For the circumstances which follow we must quote Plutarch; for, unfortunately, Cicero's letters give us no information relative to the first meeting. "When news came that

Cæsar was landed at Tarentum, and was coming round by and to Brundisium, Cicero went to him, not being altogether without hope, but feeling shame in the presence of many persons to make trial of a man who was his enemy and victorious. However, there was no need for him to do or say anything unworthy of himself; for when Cæsar saw Cicero coming forward to meet him at some distance from his attendants, he got down and embraced him, and talking with him alone, walked several stadia. From this time he continued to show respect to Cicero and friendly behaviour.”¹

¹ Plut. Cic. i
39.

Cicero now left Brundisium. Of his lictors or of a triumph we hear nothing further: the sight of Cæsar had put all such ideas to flight. In the beginning of October he was at Tusculum. In December we have a letter from Rome; the first cheerful one after so many gloomy epistles of the preceding months.

THE YEAR 708.

The effect of Cæsar's return upon the spirits of Cicero may be likened to the influence of the sun, when it dispels long gathering clouds, and restores serenity to the heavens. In the letters which now follow, the great orator appears like one just awakened from slumbers oppressed with frightful dreams. Undeceived at last as to his hopes and confidence in himself, submitting to be flattered and protected by the man whom he regarded as his opponent, and against whom he had so loudly and openly declared himself, he now sought in his darling studies the peace and consolation to which he had been so long a stranger.

From a letter to his friend Pætus, written in the summer

and, on the contrary, take care to conduct myself in the utmost moderation. For as once I deemed it my business as member of a free State to use freedom of speech, so now with the loss of liberty I feel it my duty to say nothing which may excite the displeasure of Cæsar or his associates. . . . Those philosophers who alone appear to me to understand the true signification of virtue, hold that the wise man is not excusable for his faults only. Of such I am doubly innocent: first, inasmuch as my sentiments were just and right; secondly, because when I saw right could no longer be maintained, I advised against contending with superior force. Thus, in the performance of my duties as a citizen, I am certainly free from blame. It only remains for me to do nothing foolishly and rashly against those in power, and in this, it appears to me, I shall be doing the part of a wise man. . . . "As the records of the Greeks are full of instances of how the wisest of Athens or of Syracuse submitted to the yoke of tyrants], and while their country was enslaved, preserved in a certain sense their personal freedom, shall I deem myself capable of maintaining my position, neither to offend the pride of any one, nor injure my own dignity?"* We have certainly no right to

* *Est aliquid in nostris consiliis, licetque inter abruptam contumaciam deforme obsequium pergere iter ambitione et periculis vacuum.* Tacitus, *Annals* iv. 20.

these sentiments as long as Cicero could view those of others without intolerance, and could honour and appreciate a greatness which was foreign to his own nature. That he had this merit we see from the judgment he pronounced upon Cato (who had put an end to his own life in Utica that he might not survive his country's freedom), whose panegyric he undertook to write. "Cato cannot be praised without signaling his firmness and earnestness of purpose, and this must needs be displeasing to Cæsar's friends. For he foresaw the state of things which has come to pass; he strove with all his power against it, and he gave up life that he might not witness its accomplishment."¹ And now Cicero experienced abundantly the truth he so beautifully expresses in his speech for the poet Archias.² "Letters nourish the young, gladden the aged, add grace to prosperity, and afford in adversity a refuge and a solace." In the interval between his return to Rome and the assassination of Cæsar, he wrote works of great importance; and although he could no longer shine in the Forum as a statesman and a free citizen, his eloquence was frequently exerted in the cause of humanity, and sometimes succeeded in vanquishing the victor himself. In the beginning of the year 708 he writes to his learned friend Varro, whose position was politically much the same as his own³: "Be it known to you that no sooner had I returned to the city, than I renewed my connexion with my old friends—my books." Again, in another letter, he says⁴: "Although nothing can be sadder than the present times, I know not how it is, but my favourite occupations seem to produce richer fruit than formerly; whether it is because I can now take refuge in nothing else, or because the virulence of a disorder makes us appreciate medicines we set little store by in health." And again⁵: "I look upon these Tusculan days of yours as the model of a true

¹ *Ep.* 45, 1.
(*Att.* xii. 4.)

² *Pro Arch.*
7.

³ *Ep.* 431.
(*Div.* ix. 1.)

⁴ *Ep.* 439.
(*Div.* ix. 3.)

⁵ *Ep.* 446.
(*Div.* ix. 6.)

life, and gladly would I give up all I possess to be able to lead such a life without hindrance myself. I do it to you as far as I can, and I find a welcome repose in my studies. Why, indeed, should it not be permitted since my country either will not or cannot avail itself of my services, to return to that course for which, though perhaps improperly, some would authorize us to renounce all public action?" Cicero moreover was proudly conscious that his studies might prove serviceable to the State, and he did not disdain to profit by them. "Let us," he wrote again to Varro¹, "resolve to pursue, in common, our studies whence in former times we sought pleasure, but to which we must now look for all our welfare, yet refuse to hasten at the call to build up the Republic, not as architects only, but even as plain workmen. Will you employ us? Yet, let politics be the subject of our writings and of our studies; and if not in the Curia or the Forum, let us, like the most learned men of old, serve the State amongst our books and letters, and investigate the principles of civil society."²

¹ *Ep.* 440. (Div. ix. 2.)

² *Comp. de Div.* ii. 1, 2.

It was very natural that a man of Cicero's disposition who even in early life had been charmed by the attraction of philosophy, should fly to it in his present distresses, and seek by these means, above all others, to forget them.

³ *Ep.* 469. (Div. iv. 4.)

Sulpicius³ he writes: "Although from my youth all liberal arts and sciences, and philosophy especially, have been a source of happiness to me, my pleasure in them increased daily, and I believe it is from the experience of age as well as from the unhappiness of the times, that I find nothing else can now alleviate my anxieties."⁴ It was in this year in which first, for a long time, he had enjoyed any tranquillity, that he commenced the treatise *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*.⁵ He had before this composed

Comp. Ep. 461. (Div. iv. 3.)

⁵ *Ep.* 449, 4.; 453, 2. (*Att.* xii. 5, 6.)

De claris Oratoribus, which he dedicated to M. Brutus.

whom Cæsar had given the government of Cisalpine Gaul. The *Partitiones Oratoriæ* and the *Orator*¹, likewise dedicated to Brutus, were produced the same year.* Of the “*Panegyric on Cato*” we reserve a more particular mention to a future page. Abandoning more and more all idea of public activity, and resolved, should Cæsar permit it, to withdraw entirely from politics², his love for oratory was still ardent³, and he was pleased with instructing others in the art in which he thought no more to exercise himself.⁴ He compares himself in this to Dionysius of Syracuse, who, after he was expelled from his dominions, kept a school at Corinth.⁵

¹ *Epp.* 449, 4.; 453, 2. (*Att.* xii. 5, 6.); comp. *Ep.* 521, 4. (*Div.* vi. 18.)

² *Epp.* 471.; 473, 2. (*Div.* vii. 33.; ix. 15.)

³ *Ep.* 437. (*Div.* xiii. 10.)

⁴ *Ep.* 471. (*Div.* vii. 33.)

⁵ *Ep.* 451. (*Div.* ix. 18.)

In the cause of a friend, however, or of any one who shared his political views, he could not but recall the power his words had once possessed, and found it impossible to adhere to his resolution. Thus he defended Q. Ligarius, who had incurred Cæsar’s hostility by the activity he had displayed on behalf of his adversaries in the African war.†

Before this too, when Cæsar, yielding to the petition of the whole Senate, had pardoned one of his bitterest opponents, M. Marcellus, the Consul for the year 703, Cicero seized the opportunity to move Cæsar’s natural kindness in behalf of others, on a day “when the old Republic appeared to live again.” “I had made up my mind,” he writes to Sulpicius⁶, “not from indolence, but

⁶ *Ep.* 469. (*Div.* iv. 4.)

* This date is assigned in preference to an earlier one from the words *cap.* 1., *Quoniam aliquando Romæ exeundi potestas data est.* The priority of the *Brutus* to the *de Finibus*, appears from *Ep.* 449, 4. compared with *Brut.* 26. See also Ellendt’s edition, p. 9. The *Orator* was begun immediately on the completion of the *Panegyric on Cato*, *Or.* 10. The *Paradoxa* were written, as we may infer from the introduction, before Cato’s death, perhaps at the beginning of 708.

† Cicero addressed to Ligarius, before his public defence of him, two letters of consolation, which have come down to us. (*Epp.* 465.; 475. *Div.* vi. 13, 14.) Schütz proves that it is not the oration *pro Ligar.* which is mentioned in the latter letter. This is spoken of in *Epp.* 603, 2.; 610, 2.

from wistful remembrance of the reputation I once enjoyed, to be from henceforth silent. But the magnanimity of Cæsar and the courteousness of the Senate have shaken my resolution. Accordingly I thanked Cæsar in a long speech *; and now I dread lest I should be deprived, on other occasions, of the honourable leisure which has been my sole consolation in my misfortunes. Since, however, I have escaped offending him who perhaps might have construed my continued silence into a declaration that this was no Commonwealth at all, I will for the future be moderate, and even submissive, so as both to obey him and indulge my own desire for study."

To those who seek it so nobly and so wisely, consolation is never denied. We find Cicero soon, not only cheerful, but gay, as his letters to Pætus in particular bear witness. Writing to his friend from Tusculum in June, he says¹: "The resolution I have formed to give lessons in rhetoric gives me much satisfaction, for I shall gain much by it. First of all, it will serve to fortify me against the times, of which I have at present the greatest need. How far this will be so I know not, but I see as yet no reason to prefer any one's advice to this; unless, indeed, I had better have died—in my bed I mean—

¹ *Ep.* 451.
(*Div.* ix. 18.)

* Wolf, as is well known, has endeavoured to prove that the speech we have under the title *Pro M. Marcello* is not Cicero's, and Spalding has adduced additional arguments on the same side. Many critics, however, maintain its genuineness. [There is no doubt that the speech was held to be Cicero's by Asconius, *i. e.* within the Augustan age; and the internal arguments against it are shown by Drumann and others to be anything but conclusive. The strongest circumstance against it, such as it is, is Plutarch's anecdote that Cæsar, on occasion of Cicero's speech for Ligarius, said he had not heard him "for a long time;" whereas, if Cicero really addressed him for Marcellus, there could have been but a few months' interval. But it is sufficient to reply that Plutarch's anecdotes are not always to be relied on. Among the most recent critics, Nobbe and Brückner admit the oration without difficulty.]

which I am willing to allow, but no such fate was in store for me. I was not present at the battle. Some indeed,—Pompeius, your friend Lentulus, Scipio, Afranius, perished miserably.* Cato had an illustrious end; and such an end may be my own should I desire it, but I shall take care that it be not so necessary for me as it was for him. So much for the first advantage which will accrue to me. Secondly, the occupation conduces to the recovery of my health, which suffered from want of exercise; and then again my oratorical talents, such as they are, would have withered away without employment. Lastly (which perhaps you would have placed first), I have partaken already of more peacocks † than you have even of pigeons.” Again: “I have thrown off all my care for the Republic, all my meditations on what I was to speak in the Senate, all study of causes, and have thrust myself into the camp of my adversary Epicurus.”¹ He describes, also, with considerable humour, a banquet which he, the man “*Quem adspectabant, cujus ob os Graii ora obvertebant sua*,” ‡ enjoyed at the house of Volumnius, in company with the courtesan Cytheris.² Vast indeed is the difference between these letters and those written from Brundisium! It was not only to Pætus that he exhibited himself in this cheerful

¹ *Ep.* 456.
Div. ix. 20.)

² *Ep.* 474.
(*Div.* ix. 26.)

* Lentulus, the Consul of 705, was seized and put to death by command of the Egyptian king Ptolemæus, after the death of Pompeius. Scipio, the father-in-law of the latter, perished in his flight, after the overthrow of the Republicans in Africa. Afranius, who had fled to Mauretania after the battle of Thapsus, was made prisoner, and, according to Dio (xliii. 12.), murdered by Cæsar's orders. Hirtius gives a different account. (*Bell. Afric.* 95.)

† At the tables of Hirtius and Dolabella, whom he instructed in the art of oratory.

‡ A verse from *Telamon*, a tragedy of Ennius. We meet with it also in the Tusculan Disputations, iii. 18. This Cytheris was the woman with whom Antonius made his progress through Italy. See *Ep.* 376. (*Att.* x. 10.)

light; nor was it a mere passing mood expressed in isolated letters. Many others, written in no jesting show that he enjoyed peace and resignation, while he had a wholesome interest in life, his occupations, his family and in nature.

¹ *Ep.* 441.
(*Att.* xii. 1.)

Cicero was now, too, once again enjoying the society of his beloved Atticus. He had written to him from Tusculum in June: "As I live, neither this darling country, no, nor the Isles of the Blest themselves, would compensate me for losing your society days together."

² *Ep.* 444.
(*Att.* xii. 3.)

And again: "When I was in Rome, and in immediate anticipation of seeing you, the hours of waiting seemed insufferably long to me."³ How must Atticus have

³ *Ep.* 449, 6.
(*Att.* xii. 5.)

rejoiced in the friendship of such a man, who confided to him every thought, every whim and caprice of his rich and noble nature, and who, vacillating and sensitive as he was, to him at least remained always the same.

⁴ *Ep.* 445.
(*Att.* xii. 4.)

Tiro also had rejoined him⁴; and how keenly he relished the sweets of friendly intercourse appears from

his words to Pætus: "Although I cannot but confess that I am loved and honoured by many, yet of all my friends none is dearer to me than yourself. That you love me and have loved me from the beginning, is one great cause of my partiality, perhaps the chief cause: but this is the case also with many others, while your amiable disposition and your agreeable qualities are peculiar to you alone."⁵

This period is more fertile than any other in familiar letters addressed to a variety of friends. Cicero had himself experienced how invaluable are the consolations of true friendship in times of public calamity, so he now did all he could by word and deed to console and assist, or save such of his friends as were suffering from the hardship of the times.⁶

⁵ *Ep.* 473, 1.
(*Div.* ix. 15.)

Cæcina wrote to him from his banishment: "You have been so much in the habit of

⁶ *Epp.* 434.;
435.; 436.;
437.; 465.;
514. (*Div.*

erting yourself for your friends, that they do not merely ^{xiii. 29. 78.}
 pe for your assistance, but demand it as their right.”¹ ^{79. 10.; vi. 13.}
^{12.)}

Quintus was again in Rome², but his brother makes ^{1 Ep. 478. 5.}
 ly cursory mention of him. Harmony could not have ^{2 Ep. 441.}
 en entirely restored between them, and the feelings of ^(Att. xii. 1.)
 Marcus must have been shocked by seeing the part which
 Quintus took in promoting his son's entrance into the
 college of the Luperci³; his object in so doing being to ^{3 Ep. 449. 1.}
 attract Cæsar.* Cicero continued to live on friendly terms ^(Att. xii. 5.)
 with Dolabella, as, although the separation between him
 and Tullia had now taken place, he could not venture to
 break with him on account of the favour shown him by
 Cæsar. He sent Tiro to meet him on his return from the
 African campaign⁴; and after this time saw a great deal ^{4 Ep. 449. 5.}
 of him, both as a guest at his luxurious table and as his in-
 structor in the art of rhetoric.⁵ A friendship such as this, ^{5 Epp. 450, 2.;}
 of a purely political nature, could not satisfy the cravings ^{471. (Div.}
 of his heart, but for these he found ample solace in other ^{ix. 16.; vii.}
 members of his family. How touching are the following ^{33.)}
 words, written to Atticus from the country: “O that I
 might hasten forthwith to the embraces of my Tullia and
 of your own Attica! Let me hear, whilst I remain at
 Tusculum, what the child prattles about, or, if she is in
 the country, what she writes to you.”⁶ He was also pecu- ^{6 Ep. 441.;}
 arly alive at this time to the beauties of nature, a taste for ^{comp. 515.}
 which is frequently associated with such strong domestic ^{(Att. xii. 1.}
 affections as his were. He would gladly have left Rome, ^{11.)}
 a place calculated to awaken only sad recollections, but
 he was afraid of doing so lest such a step might be

* To the two ancient colleges of the Luperci a third was added in
 honour of Cæsar—the Julian. Many of the Roman youth, particularly
 from the higher ranks, sought, out of flattery to Cæsar, to be received into
 this association, which as well as the whole Lupercalian ceremonial gave
 honour to respectable and enlightened persons.

construed as a sign that he contemplated leaving It. He did not therefore go into the country till May.] of June and July he spent at Tusculum; and in August and September we find him in his villas near Cumæ and Antium. "Nothing," he writes¹, "is more to my than solitude; nothing can be pleasanter than this about the shore, the view over the sea, and everything else. When again compelled to return to Rome he met friends there who were dear to him, and, with his old love of the city still strong within him, he found his residence there as agreeable as under the circumstances it could be. He thus describes his manner of life to Pætus: "In the morning I receive visits from many of the dejected Optimates, as well as from the exulting conquerors, who always observe the most marked respect towards me. When these visits are over, I bury myself with books, and read or write. Then men, slightly inferior in learning, come to be instructed by me. All the rest of my time is given to the things of the body.† I have mourned over my country more deeply and more constantly than ever mother did for her only son."²

¹ Ep. 459.
(Att. xii. 9.)

² Ep. 456.
(Div. ix. 20.)

But all these enjoyments would have failed in restoring Cicero's peace of mind, had he not attained a consciousness that, though his conduct had been erroneous, and in some instances he had swerved from duty, still, in the great catastrophe of his country, in heart and purpose he had remained true to her. Neither in Greece nor at Brundisium had he been blessed with this conviction; but now Time had exerted its usual softening influence, and

* The words following this passage deserve notice: *Sed neque hæc diu longioribus literis, nec erat quod scriberem; et somnus urgebat.*

† [*Inde corpori omne tempus datur*: a phrase implying all the care and attention bestows upon the preservation of his health; his meals, his exercise and relaxation.]

abled him to forget his weaknesses in the sense of his purity of intention. We learn this from a letter to his friend Marius, written in the summer.¹ Even in the beginning of the year 708 we find him telling his former Quæstor, Mescinius, that he derives comfort from the purity of his intentions and principles as well as in letters.² To Sulpicius he thus expresses himself: "Although I yield to none in my sorrow for the public misfortunes, I have nevertheless much to console me, especially in the rectitude of my past conduct; for long ago I discerned, as from a watch-tower, the impending storm."³ And doubtless he was sincere in his words to Marius: "I saw no cause to resolve upon death, but much to wish for it; for it is an old saying, 'When you can no longer be what once you were, you have no reason to wish to live.' It is, however, a great consolation to be free from blame*; especially as in my case I possess two sources of comfort, in the enjoyment of the highest kinds of knowledge and in the fame of my glorious deeds. As long as I live nothing can rob me of the first; death itself will not deprive me of the second."⁴

¹ *Ep.* 452.
(*Div.* vii. 3.)

² *Ep.* 438.
(*Div.* v. 21.)

³ *Ep.* 461.
(*Div.* iv. 3.)

⁴ *Ep.* 461.
(*Div.* iv. 3.)

His words to Mescinius mark the difference between his own character and that of Cato: "I will speak the truth; you appear to me to possess that more gentle and tender disposition which belongs to most of us who have been bred in personal and public freedom."⁵ To Varro, who had invited him to Baiæ, he replies: "Is that the right place for us whilst our country is in flames?"⁶ To Pætus he writes: "I must rest satisfied with what is granted me. The man who cannot content himself with this ought to die. They are measuring [by Cæsar's orders] the domains of Veii and Capena. The latter

⁵ *Ep.* 438.;
comp. 575.
(*Div.* v. 21.;
Att. xii. 46.)

⁶ *Ep.* 439.
(*Div.* ix. 3.)

* If Cicero extends this expression to earlier years, he certainly flatters himself too much.

place is not far from Tusculum. I fear nothing, however*, but abandon myself to present enjoyment, only hoping it may last. Should it be otherwise appointed, hero and sage as I am, having deliberately chosen Life, I must needs give my affection to the man by whose generosity life is secured to me.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 455.
(*Div.* ix. 17.)

Never, in truth, did the citizen of a Republic lose his freedom to a nobler master than to Cæsar. His clemency proceeded as much from his native generosity as from views of policy, though unfortunately it yielded in the end to the passion of self-aggrandizement. Cicero brings it forward as a ground of consolation to his friends of the Pompeian party who had not yet been pardoned. Thus, writing to Ligarius, whose fear of the conqueror kept him at a distance from Rome, he says: “Cæsar will not be harsher towards you than towards others; for circumstances, the lapse of time, public opinion, and, I believe, his native disposition, concur in rendering him daily more lenient.”² To Cæcina, who was also in banishment, he writes: “Cæsar is mild and merciful by nature. . . . Besides, he delights in men like you of distinguished talent. He yields to many whose petitions are just and dictated by a sense of duty, but not to the vain and ambitious.”³ Again to Marcellus, so magnanimously pardoned by Cæsar, he says: “The autocrat favours men of genius, and sets as high a value upon true superiority and dignity in others, as circumstances and his own†

² *Ep.* 465.
(*Div.* vi. 13.)

³ *Ep.* 470.;
comp. 514.
(*Div.* vi. 6.
12.)

* In this respect Cicero certainly had nothing to fear from Cæsar. [The land measuring refers to a projected assignment of estates to Cæsar’s veterans.]

† [I consider the key to much of Cicero’s recent despondency, and the sudden rebound of cheerfulness we observe at this time, to be the apprehension he was led by his study of earlier Roman history to entertain of slaughter and confiscation upon the establishment of Cæsar’s authority, now falsified by the remarkable mildness he exhibited. It is the extreme surprise he felt at this unexpected moderation that accounts for the ex-

interests permit.”¹ In fact Cæsar united in his own person all the qualities that the Roman world then needed. Nature herself had stamped him for a ruler at the period when Rome could no longer exist without one. As a soldier and a general he ranked higher than any of his countrymen, and had won for himself the admiration of the progeny of Mars. His love of literature and of art, and of all that conduces to refined civilization, commended him to an age highly sensible of their attractions.² His humanity is testified by the honourable manner in which he invariably mentioned the name of Pompeius³, and by his forgiveness of Ligarius, from whom he had received many provocations, and whose subsequent treachery was probably not unsuspected by him. When Q. Tubero brought forward his accusation against this Ligarius*, who had been long languishing in a species of banishment, Cæsar resolved upon his full condemnation, and made no secret of his intention to his friends, though at the same time he consented to hear Cicero’s public defence of him in the Forum. He believed himself fully armed against the pleadings of his natural clemency, and he held papers in his hand relative to the accusation, by referring to which he trusted to secure himself against any impression which the orator’s eloquence might produce upon his mind. When, however, the speech turned upon his own noble qualities, and mention was made of the battle of Pharsalia, his firmness forsook him. He thought of Pompeius, and of the uncertainty of fortune, and every consideration at

lavagant panegyrics, as they seem to us, he lavishes upon it in the speech for Marcellus, which have even induced some modern critics to question its genuineness. It requires no little insight into the frightful character of the Roman revolutions to appreciate Cæsar’s merits in this respect, and the deep and lasting sense his countrymen entertained of it.]

* *De vi.* What is above related is taken from Plutarch (*Cic.* 39.). See also Quint. *Inst. Or.* ix. 2. 38.

length was borne down by the impulse of his native generosity. His colour changed, he trembled violently, and the papers fell from his hand. Ligarius was pardoned. The words by which Cicero had worked upon the conqueror's mind were these: "No quality is so popular as kindness; for none of your numerous virtues are you more beloved and admired than for your merciful nature. It is in conferring benefits on mankind that men approach nearest to the level of the gods. The greatest gift which fortune has bestowed upon you is the power, the noblest attribute of your nature is the will, to do good to the multitude." In the letters of this period we have evidence of Cæsar's desire to console Cicero for the fall of the Republic. "At that time," says the orator, writing to Figulus, "no wish occurred to me which Cæsar did not anticipate. . . . I have met with the kindest treatment from him." Again to Cæcina he says: "Every day Cæsar's regard for me seems to increase." How much pleasure Cæsar derived from the treasures of his wit and intellect, we see from the following passage in the letter to Pætus above referred to: "If I am altogether to avoid giving offence by my sharp or witty sayings, I must resign all pretensions to be considered a wit, which I should be ready enough to do were it possible. Cæsar himself, however, has a nice sense of discrimination. I hear that he has already collected some volumes of Apophthegms, and that he rejects any which are brought to him falsely ascribed to me; and this he is the better able to do now, as his intimate friends live almost daily with me. In the varied course of our conversation many things which I may have said perhaps appear to them not wanting in wit or pungency. These are retailed to Cæsar along with every thing else which is done in Rome, in obedience to his express commands*;

* Cæsar had not yet returned from his African campaign.

and thus it happens, he pays no attention to any thing which he may hear of me from any other quarter.”*

This letter and many others of the same period prove how good an understanding existed between the writer and Cæsar’s confidential friends. Thus he says to Ampius†: “All Cæsar’s friends are bound to me fortunately by ties both of friendship and of old habit, so that I stand next to their chief in their estimation. Pansa, Hirtius, Balbus, Oppius, Matus, Posthumus, all testify the greatest regard for me.”¹ His presence often graced the splendid tables of Hirtius, Dolabella, and others of the foremost Cæsarians, and they on their part did not disdain to appear at his more simple board.² Balbus was so intimate with him that on one occasion, returning to Rome from some journey, he repaired in the first instance to his house.³ In fact the partizans of the autocrat appear to have felt with him how important an acquisition Cicero was likely to prove, and even if his active services could not be secured, his mere presence in Rome, and his neutrality were advantages they could not overlook. Like their master also they could appreciate the refinement and wit displayed in his conversation.

Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the great orator had lost much. He who could once with reason boast that he had saved Rome, whom a grateful people had once

* [Duruy, *Hist. des Romains*, ii. 532., has a few biting words on this part of Cicero’s conduct: “Content de la royauté qu’il avait toujours, celle de l’esprit, il ne laissait percer ses regrets qu’en de malignes plaisanteries. Ce rôle de frondeur spirituel plaisait à César; il se délassait de l’adulation. Chaque matin on lui apportait les bons mots de Cicéron et il en faisait un recueil. L’ancien consulaire, le père de la patrie, devenu le bouffon de la tyrannie!”]

† T. Ampius Balbus (who must not be confounded with L. Cornelius Balbus) had done much for Pompeius in his struggle with Cæsar, and had obtained the appellation of the Trumpet of Civil War. He is mentioned, *Ep.* 334, B. and 372, 1. (*Att.* viii. 11.; *Div.* ii. 16.)

hailed as Father of his Country, who had afterwards upheld for a brief period the dignity of the Senate and the power of the Optimates, and whose very banishment proved his importance in public estimation, was now compelled to say, "I feel that I can do but little;"¹ and again, in a letter to Pætus²: "You talk to me of Catulus and those times. Wherein do they resemble these? Then I refused to withdraw from the guardianship of the Republic, for I sat at the helm and held the rudder*; but now there is scarcely a place for me in the hold of the ship. Would one decree the less be passed if I were at Naples? Now that I am in Rome and constantly present in the Forum, the decrees of the Senate are enrolled in the presence of your favourite and my friend (Cæsar). When he chooses, my name is affixed to them, as if I had been present; and I hear of such an one having been carried into Asia or Armenia, purporting to have been framed in accordance with my advice, before I have even been told that it was in contemplation. I would not have you think that I am jesting, for it is a fact that I have received letters from the sovereigns of the most remote districts of the world, thanking me for recognizing their titles—men of whose very existence I was ignorant." (Cæsar was induced to take these liberties with Cicero's name by his anxiety to preserve the appearance of respecting ancient forms).

Nor could Cicero regard without emotion the fate which had befallen many of his companions among the Pompeians, though well aware that if successful they would have been even far less merciful than their opponents. He saw their property confiscated, and distributed amongst the adherents of Cæsar. He had to mourn also many of his most distinguished countrymen, many of his

* This refers to Cicero's refusal to undertake the government of a province immediately after the conclusion of his Consulate.

¹ *Ep.* 432.
(*Div.* vi. 22.)

² *Ep.* 473, 2.
(*Div.* ix. 15.)

private friends who had fallen in the civil war.¹ We re-¹ *Ep. 453, 1.*
 member how he shuddered on first seeing Cæsar's retinue. (*Div. iv. 13.*)
 Custom had probably blunted the edge of the feelings he
 then experienced, and he knew that many men of honour
 and reputation, and favourably disposed towards himself,
 had joined their destiny to the conqueror's. Yet, he
 writes to Sulpicius in the autumn of this year: "You
 regret your determination (to undertake the government of
 Achaia), and fancy us, who abide in Rome, more fortunate
 than yourself. I, on the other hand, think you, if not
 quite free from trouble, yet happier than myself. You at
 least can venture to bemoan yourself in letters, whereas I
 cannot even do that with safety: and this is no fault of
 the conqueror, who is as moderate as can be desired, but
 of his victory; for in the case of civil wars victory must
 needs be intemperate." In a later letter he says: "The
 end of civil war is necessarily not only obedience to the
 conqueror's will, but submission to his associates also, by² *Ep. 645.*
 whose hands he has got the victory."² (*Div. xii. 18.*)

The society of Cæsar's friends was, no doubt, agreeable
 as well as useful to Cicero, but still they were not his old
 associates, and his intercourse with them was not grounded,
 in the genuine Roman sense, on an equal participation in
 the affairs of the Commonwealth. He writes to Mescinius:
 "Now that some of my friends are dead, others absent,
 and others changed towards me, I had in good faith rather
 spend one day in your society than all this time with most³ *Ep. 438.;*
 of those whom circumstances have forced upon me."³ He *comp. 463, 1.*
 was doomed also to encounter many an unfriendly face in (*Div. v. 21.;*
 the streets of Rome, whose sight he would gladly have *iv. 13.*)
 avoided by escaping to the country. "Let us," he writes
 to Varro, "avoid the eyes of men if we cannot escape
 their tongues; for those who pride themselves on their
 victory look down upon us as the vanquished; and those

who grieve at our defeat cannot endure that we should still exist.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 440.
(*Div.* ix. 2.)

But Cæsar’s magnanimity and apparent deference to Cicero failed after all to establish a feeling of real confidence between them. This is clearly intimated in a letter from the orator to the Consular M. Marcellus², who was then living in exile. “My sorrow and concern for you nearly equal your cousin’s*, though I come behind him in my pleadings for you. For I have not the same freedom of access to Cæsar, and have need of intercession in my own behalf. Anything I can do I owe to his indulgence only, nor can I forget that I am a vanquished man.”³ That the conqueror himself recognized the footing on which they stood respectively to each other, appears from his exclamation on hearing that the great Consular was waiting in his ante-chamber for the moment when he might be admitted to his presence. “Can I be simple enough to expect that this man, complaisant as he is, should feel like a friend towards me, when he has to sit so long waiting for my convenience?”⁴ Cicero’s feelings must have been severely tried when the conqueror of Pompeius and of the Republic celebrated his fourfold triumph, and was created Dictator for ten years.

² *Ep.* 464.
(*Div.* iv. 7.)

³ *Comp. Epp.*
450, l.; 455;
463, l. (*Div.*
ix. 16, 17.; iv.
13.)

⁴ *Ep.* 680.
(*Att.* xiv. 2.)

Thus, in spite of the sportive gaiety which at times characterized his letters, he had his hours of heavy disquietude, and the general tone of his mind at this period was probably grave and serious. It was well for him that his sensitive nature made him so open to the impressions of kindness. “Although in my own person,” he wrote to

* The word in the Latin is *frater*, which may also denote the son of a paternal uncle. The brother of M. Marcellus, Caius, during whose Consulate the civil war broke out, perished in it, following Pompeius. His uncle, Caius, was Cicero’s colleague in the Augurship; and his son of the same name, Consul in the year 704, is the one here meant.

Figulus¹, "I have met with no great harshness, and indeed in such times as these have no wish which Cæsar has not freely gratified, yet am I so tormented with grief that it seems a sin to remain alive. For, together with many of my intimate friends who are scattered in flight, or have been torn from me by death, I have lost all those whose friendship I acquired in the days when, with your assistance, I saved the Republic from ruin*, and I find myself involved in the shipwreck and total loss of property which they have sustained. I not only hear (which of itself were miserable enough), but, far more distressing, I see with my own eyes the fortunes of men with whose aid we once extinguished the flames of civil discord scattered to the winds: and in that same city where once I flourished in honour and renown, I now live in destitution. True, I experience great kindness from Cæsar, but this cannot make up for my sense of restraint and the universal change around me. Thus, deprived of all that nature, habit and inclination had made necessary to me, I feel vexed not with others only but with myself. Born for noble exertion, I have now no motive either for action or for thought; whereas once my intercession was powerful to serve the obscure or even the guilty, I cannot now hold out a hand to Figulus, the wisest and best of men, once the most highly considered, and my own true friend besides."

We see from hence that he did not deceive himself as to his true position; but was fully aware that his political existence was now nothing more than a name.² Plancius² had congratulated him on having retained his former con-

¹ Ep. 463, 1.
(Div. iv. 13.)

² Ep. 455.
(Div. ix. 17.)

* Plutarch, in his life of Cicero (cap. 20.), and in the treatise, 'Εἰ προσ-
τάττω πολιτευτέον, informs us that Cicero when Consul, and especially on
occasion of Catilina's conspiracy, had made use of the counsel of his friend
Figulus.

sideration (*dignitas*). “If,” he replied, “this consists in desiring the welfare of the Republic and approving this wish to good men, then I do indeed still enjoy consideration; but if it consists in carrying out any such wishes in deed, or defending them without reserve in words, not a vestige of what I once enjoyed now remains to me.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 516, 1.
(*Div.* iv. 14.)

His character and principles still bound him to the vanquished party. “I do not repent my decision,” is his frank confession to his confidential friend Varro²; “for I was impelled not by hope but by duty; it was a hopeless cause and not a duty which I abandoned. Thus, I was more patriotic than those who remained at Rome in the first instance, and more prudent than those who, when they had lost all, refused to return thither.” So steadfast indeed was his adherence to his political principles, that, when the news of Cato’s suicide reached him, he composed a treatise in praise of the Republican, whose actions he had not always cordially approved of³; though he thus exposed himself to the danger of offending Cæsar. But the generous Dictator contented himself with writing a pamphlet which he called *Anti-Cato*, in which he extolled Cicero’s eloquence and course of life, and compared him to Pericles and Theramenes.⁴ In a letter to Balbus, written the following year from Spain, Cæsar observed that Cicero’s *Cato*, which he had often read through, had given him lessons in eloquence, but when he read the *Cato* of Brutus he fancied himself an orator.⁵

² *Ep.* 448.
(*Div.* ix. 5.)

³ *Epp.* 445.;
459, 2. (*Att.*
xii. 4. 5.)

⁴ *Plut. Cic.*
39.

⁵ *Epp.* 628, 2.
(*Att.* xiii.
46.); comp.
567, 1 (*Att.*
xii. 40.); *Tac.*
Ann. iv. 34.

Conduct so magnanimous as this, whilst it could effect no change in Cicero’s views or disposition, serves to explain the principles by which he was now guided, and on which he grounded his admonition to M. Marcellus, who refused to revisit Rome after he had received his pardon. “No place ought to be sweeter to you than your country. You should pity it, rather than love it less, because its

beauty is diminished; and robbed as it now is of so many of its most illustrious citizens, you should not deprive it of your presence also. If your greatness of soul refuse to bend the knee to the conqueror, let not your pride reject his liberality; and if it be philosophy to endure life without your country, not to long for it is a proof of hard-heartedness.”¹ Although on his first return and before¹ *Ep.* 468. (*Div.* iv. 9.) he had become settled in Rome, or begun again to taste repose, he often wished himself away from the city, where the sight of the conqueror oppressed him, though the fear of giving offence withheld him from quitting it; — although he could then say with truth, “Let us shun the sight of men;”² yet subsequently there can be no doubt² *Ep.* 440. (*Div.* ix. 2.) that he really entertained the sentiments he expressed to Marcellus, for his words bear the stamp of sincerity.*

We honour these sentiments all the more from the freedom with which he avowed them at a time when the Roman world was completely in Cæsar’s hands. What danger was then attendant upon writing or speaking we frequently hear from Cicero’s own lips.³ We have seen³ e. g. *Ep.* 462. that he had boldness enough to expose himself to the conqueror’s wrath by writing a panegyric upon Cato. “It is an Archimedean problem,” he writes with reference to it to Atticus; “I cannot imagine how I am to write what the company at your table † will read with pleasure or even with indifference.” He certainly was influenced by no consideration for the conqueror in the composition of this work; he was not therefore deterred by any fear of him from publishing the treatise *de claris oratoribus*, the introduction to which affords such a noble proof of the

* There is no contradiction here with the gloomy picture Cicero draws of his life in Rome in his letters of the year 709, *Epp.* 517, 1.; 526, 1.; (*Div.* vi. 1. 4.) In these he is addressing a friend whom he wishes to console for his absence from the city. Comp. *Ep.* 521, 5. (*Div.* vi. 18.)

† Cæsar’s distinguished friends, who frequently supped with Atticus.

author's ardour. It first treats of the death of Hortensius, upon which Cicero proceeds: "After the enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity he quitted life at a moment as unseasonable to his fellow-citizens as it was seasonable to himself. Had his life been prolonged he would have had to mourn over the Republic without the power to succour it. He lived as long as it was permitted to him to be happy himself and useful to his country. . . . Were Hortensius still alive, he would deplore, in common with every good and faithful citizen, all that we have lost; but in addition to this he would experience one sorrow peculiar to himself, or shared but by few, that, namely, of seeing the Forum of the Roman world, the theatre of his talents, bereft of the polished eloquence, not unworthy of Greek or Roman ears, which once adorned it. It torments me to think that the Commonwealth can dispense with the weapons of wisdom, genius and authority, which I had learned to wield; the proper weapons for an eminent statesman, and for a virtuous and well-constituted State. To me, especially, there is this cause of grief, among so many greater ones, that having reached the age when, after all I had done, I hoped at length to escape into the haven not of indolence and uselessness but of a moderate and honourable leisure, when my eloquence itself was already ripe and began to mellow, at that very moment arms were resorted to — arms, I say, which even they who had worn them well could no longer use with advantage."¹

¹ Brut. i. 2.

To return to Cæsar. In the beginning of this eventful year he defeated the Republicans at Thapsus in Africa*, and was compelled by prudence to adopt severity in his treatment of the enemy. He returned to Rome about

* On the 5th of April according to the calendar as it then stood, which was not regulated until later in the same year (708, *annus confusionis*). It was at that time sixty-seven days in advance. [See below.]

midsummer¹, and celebrated his splendid fourfold triumph,¹ *Ep.* 454. (*Div.* ix. 19.) on which occasion his munificence towards the soldiers and citizens was in keeping with the pomp which surrounded him. At the close of the year he was forced to go into Spain in order to subdue the sons of Pompeius, and with them the last remnant of the Republicans.²

Besides upwards of thirty commendatory epistles of inferior interest³, there are forty-eight letters belonging to this year, addressed for the most part to distinguished men who played a prominent part in the great drama then enacting.*

Seven are addressed to the learned Terentius Varro. This celebrated writer had joined in the unsuccessful resistance offered to Cæsar by Afranius and Petreius in Spain; but one of his legions having deserted him, he gave in his submission to the conqueror with a second legion at Corduba, and was now living quietly under his protection on his estates in Italy, devoting himself to his literary avocations. He was about ten years older than Cæsar, but had attained no higher office in the State than the Prætorship. Eventually he was preferred by Augustus to the superintendentship of the library founded by Cæsar and enlarged by himself.

There are two letters to Servius Sulpicius the great jurist, who was Consul in the year 703, when he opposed the efforts of his colleague, M. Marcellus, against Cæsar.

* We must here also mention a letter to C. Trebonius of the end of the year 707, *Ep.* 429. (*Div.* xiv. 20.) Trebonius had joined Cæsar's party, and he it was who conducted the siege of Massilia with such brilliant success. In 707 Cæsar entrusted him with the government of Spain. Before his departure for that province, he sent to Cicero a work in which he had collected the orator's witty sayings and speeches, accompanied by suitable prefaces; this gave occasion to the letter here mentioned. Trebonius became afterwards one of the conspirators against Cæsar's life. See also *Phil.* ii. 14.

Deeply impressed with the misery of the times, and mourning over the subversion of the old Republic, he yet took part against Pompeius in the civil war; and after the battle of Pharsalia was made Proconsul of Achaia. Three letters are addressed to M. Marcellus, who after the battle lived an exile in Mytilene; eight to Papirius Pætus, the accomplished, witty and good-natured Epicurean; who, though of patrician birth, had never, from choice we may suppose, filled any public office, but lived as a wealthy citizen in agreeable idleness, and enjoyed Cæsar's special favour.* We have already seen how fond Cicero was of him, attracted, we may suppose, by the charm of his wit, "not Attic," he says, "but old Roman, which is more pungent still. As I live, I know no man but yourself in whom I recognize the character of the old genuine humour of our country."¹

¹ *Ep.* 473, 1.
(*Div.* ix. 15.)

Three letters are addressed to Aulus Cæcina, a Roman knight of an old Etruscan family, who had wielded his pen as well as his sword against Cæsar, and had therefore some difficulty in obtaining pardon. He was probably the person whom Cicero defended in 685. He wrote an erudite treatise *de Etrusca disciplina*, which has unfortunately been lost, and also a book against Cæsar.²

² *Suet. Jul.*
75.

To M. Marius, whom we met with at an earlier period of this work, there are two letters, the first of which³ is very valuable as containing a detailed exposition of the principles which had governed the writer's conduct during the last few years. The colours in which he portrays his course of action betray indeed the art of the rhetorician, and prove how time had blunted and obscured his recollection of his real views and sentiments.

³ *Ep.* 452.
(*Div.* vii. 3.)

* In *Ep.* 473, 2. (*Div.* ix. 15.) these words occur. *Romæ quum sum et urgeo forum, senatus consulta scribuntur apud tuum amatorem (Cæsarem), meum familiarem.*

The following letters of this period are also generally important; those to L. Mescinius, Cicero's former Quæstor, to Nigidius Figulus renowned for his extraordinary learning; to Q. Ligarius whom he afterwards defended (two in number); to M. Brutus, entrusted at that time by Cæsar with the government of the important province of Cisalpine Gaul; to Cnæus Domitius son of the Consular L. Domitius, who had defended Corfinium against Cæsar, and afterwards fell at Pharsalia; to L. Munatius Plancus, then with the Emperor in Africa, whom we shall find playing a considerable part in the next period; to Plancius the friend of his exile; to Volumnius (two), his witty and jovial boon companion, whose social qualities procured for him the nickname of Eutrapelus; to Curius, to whose care he had commended Tiro during his illness at Patræ; to Ampius Balbus, who had been pardoned by Cæsar; and finally to P. Servilius Vatia, Cæsar's colleague in 706, and now by his appointment Governor of Asia. A letter to Fadius Gallus, Cicero's Quæstor in his Consulship, deserves mention as an example of the strong language he could make use of when provoked. Only nine letters addressed to Atticus in this period are preserved to us; they are dated from Tusculum, Antium, or some other of his country seats.

We have often remarked, in regard to the earlier periods of our work, the importance of the letters belonging to them; in general interest, perhaps, those of the year 708 surpass all the rest. It is a melancholy though grand spectacle to behold a man of lofty genius and generous disposition struck down by the resistless stroke of fate, and dragged from his accustomed sphere. But it is encouraging on the other hand to find that such a man, not unmindful of the lot of humanity, can yield to destiny with submission, and find the legitimate sources of consolation within

his own breast, displaying virtues in his adversity which under other circumstances might have remained unknown.

The peace which breathes in the letters of this year, and their equable frame of mind, the calm regret for what is lost, give them a peculiar charm, especially if we read them immediately after those written from Brundisium, and they are widely different from most of the letters not addressed to Atticus, which are, generally speaking, of a political character. A wise and sympathizing nature cannot fail to be moved when the good sense, moderation, self-devotion and human feeling of a great man speak to us as they do in the letters of this year.

THE YEARS 709 AND 710.

In the years we have now been examining, Cicero appears in a situation and frame of mind the most congenial to his nature, and the most favourable to his happiness. We have seen him resigned to the course of events, tranquil, nay, even cheerful. But melancholy impressions again fill the mind on the perusal of a letter, which meets us as it were accidentally amongst the rest. It is addressed in the middle of the year 709, to Luceius, and its import soon convinces us that some new sorrow must have assailed the long afflicted citizen. "My life," such is its tenor, "has fallen upon times so evil, that now, at a period when it ought to be crowned with all honour, I am even ashamed of living at all! For what haven now remains for me, deprived as I am of all glory and satisfaction, public or domestic? The pursuit of knowledge, it is true, still remains, and unceasingly do I occupy myself with it: what else indeed can I do? But I know not how it is; knowledge herself seems to close her sheltering portals against me, and almost to reproach me for continuing longer in a state of existence

which holds out no prospect but that of protracted misery. And are you then surprised that I keep at a distance from the city, when joy has abandoned my dwelling, when the times and the personages, the Forum and the Curia, are alike odious to me?"¹

¹ *Ep.* 568. b.
(*Div.* v. 15.)

In the same month he writes to Atticus: "You ask whether the love of knowledge has quite lost its power over me? In my present circumstances, I fear its influence is even pernicious. Without my attachment to intellectual pursuits, I might perhaps have been of harder mould. For a refined temperament has no affinity with what is stern and coarse."²

² *Ep.* 575.
(*Att.* xii. 46.)

Too true were these words. Cicero must needs have been made of sterner stuff than he was to have been able to resist the overwhelming calamities which the year brought down upon him. In his own home, that hallowed spot where the bowed and stricken spirit can most securely look for rest, and is most easily softened to submission, no joy, no rest, remained for him. Between himself and his wife Terentia, whose society he had so fondly pined after when in exile, a misunderstanding had recently, as we have seen, arisen, which, probably at the close of this last year, ended in a divorce.* If this event, both in itself and in the causes which led to it, may justly be regarded as a heavy misfortune to Cicero, his new choice of a partner was assuredly not less of a calamity. By the advice

* See p. 323. *Ep.* 516, 2. (*Div.* iv. 14.); *Plut. Cic.* 41. According to this historian, Terentia was again married more than once, and, if we may believe *Valerius M.* viii. 13. 6., attained the age of 103. [St. Jerome has preserved a statement that Terentia married the historian Sallust for her second husband, and Messala for her third. Dio Cassius gives her a fourth, Vibius Rufus, who was Consul in the reign of Tiberius, and valued himself for the possession of two things which had belonged to the two greatest men of the age before him, Cicero's wife, and Cæsar's chair, in which he was killed. *Dio Cass.* lvii. 15.]

¹ *Ep.* 515.
(*Att.* xii. 11.)

of Tiro, he sought to make a second marriage the means of repairing his dilapidated fortunes. Various ladies were passed under review by himself and his friends; the daughter of Pompeius among them; but Cicero feared to enter into this alliance on account of Cæsar. Of another lady recommended by Atticus, he says with a shudder, "he had never beheld an uglier person."¹ His choice finally fell upon Publilia, a young, fair and wealthy maiden, who, Plutarch says, was his ward. But the marriage was not a happy one. Publilia possessed none of that intellectual cultivation which Cicero required in the partner of his home; and besides, he was sixty-two years old.*

² *Ep.* 539.
(*Att.* xii. 7.)

It has been conjectured, and not improbably, that Cicero's son, now twenty years of age, disliked his father's new connexion, and on that account desired to leave the paternal roof. His wish was to join Cæsar in Spain², but Cicero objected to such a step, as too inconsistent with his own principles: moreover, the younger Quintus, who still continued to entertain hostile feelings against his uncle, was now in Cæsar's camp, and had through the offices of Hirtius acquired his favour to such a degree, that his cousin might feel himself in an unpleasant position if treated with less consideration.³ Young Cicero next thought of setting up a separate establishment of his own; but at his father's desire consented to betake himself to Athens, there to continue his studies. He was handsomely equipped for his journey and residence there, and was accompanied by two freedmen, Martianus and Montanus Tullus. It was not long, however, before he gave his father cause for vexation.⁴

³ *Ep.* 539.;
563, 2.; 600. 1.
(*Att.* xii. 7.
38.; xiii. 9.)

⁴ *Epp.* 542, 2.;
550, 2.; 581,
1.; 583, 1.;
632. (*Att.* xii.
24. 32. 52.;
xiii. 1. 47.)

But the heaviest blow fate had reserved for Cicero was

* Cicero was reproached for marrying a young maiden, himself being a sexagenarian. "To-morrow," he answered, "she will be a matron." Quint. *Inst. Or.* vi. 3.

the loss of his daughter. After she had been parted from Dolabella in the preceding year, and while still under his roof, as Plutarch relates, in the month of January she gave birth to a son. At first her strength seemed to return satisfactorily; but appearances were deceitful: the conduct of Dolabella, the misfortunes of her beloved father, her mother's divorce from him, and his subsequent re-marriage, had all affected her deeply. She died, as it would appear, in February, at Cicero's Tusculan villa.¹

The grief of the bereaved father was unbounded, as his letters written in the following month testify; for of the

¹ Plut. Cic. 41.; Ep. 521, 5.; 528. (Div. iv. 10.; Att. xii. 12.)

first few weeks succeeding the sad event we possess no memorials. "It is all over with me, Atticus," he writes,

"it is all over with me! I have long felt it, but now I am indeed convinced of it, now that I have lost the only being who still bound me to life."²

Immediately after this event, he went to join Atticus on a small property the latter possessed near Rome, where he remained thirty days.

² Ep. 541, 1. (Att. xii. 23.)

But here he saw too many people: he longed for solitude, and accordingly repaired to a peaceful secluded estate on the island of Astura, formed by the river of that name where it flows into the Tyrrhene sea, not far from Antium.³

"In this desert," he writes to Atticus, "I am not disturbed by the sight of any human being. Early in the morning I bury myself in a wild and dreary wood, and do not leave it till evening. Next to yourself there is nothing I love so well as solitude. In solitude I can hold quiet converse with my studies; though not without frequent interruption from my tears. I strive against my grief as much as I am able, but my strength is not equal to the contest."⁴

³ Epp. 567, 3.; 535, 1.; (Att. xii. 40. 19.)

We cannot reproach him with utterly abandoning himself to his sorrow; for in an early letter addressed to Atticus

⁴ Ep. 531, 2. (Att. xii. 15.)

from Astura we find, that while yet residing at his friend's suburban abode near Rome, he had read all the works he could find calculated to assuage immoderate grief, and that he did not avoid the visits of friends and others kindly disposed towards him. He composed for his own use a work bearing the title *De Consolatione*, which he characterizes as more powerful than any other then extant.*¹ "I write all day long," he says in his letter: "not that I really accomplish much, but it serves in some measure to divert my grief: it is far from doing all I could wish, for my woe presses too heavily upon me; but I can discern some slight alteration, and I exert myself to the utmost to recover my external appearance at least, if not my mental tranquillity. Sometimes I fancy I do wrong in resisting my sorrows, sometimes in giving way to them." He had an idea that it was a point of duty to feel the full bitterness of a calamity, and would have considered himself committing an injustice to Tullia's shade had his sorrow not been commensurate with her worth. "When you say," he writes to his friend, "that people wish me to come to Rome, I would have you know that your opinion is of more weight with me than that of all the world besides. Nor do I hold my own opinion in slight estimation: and what I think of myself is of greater consequence to me than what all the rest of mankind think. But I go no further than the wisest have warranted; for I have not only read all they have to say (and it is no small proof of the patient's firmness when he consents to take medicine), but have examined and commented on their maxims in my own writings. Thus, it would not appear that my spirit is wholly crushed and broken; and I will not abandon this course of healing to plunge into yonder crowd, lest a worse relapse should be the consequence."²

¹ *Ep.* 530, 3. (*Att.* xii. 14.); comp. *Ep.* 567, 3. (*Att.* xii. 40.)

² *Ep.* 538, 5. (*Att.* xii. 22.)

* Of this work only a few fragments remain to us.

No one who shares in the tender sympathies of humanity will blame Cicero for feeling thus acutely, but will rather honour him for the above expressions, and admit the further truth of his words when writing (in May) to his friend Ser. Sulpicius.* I blame myself for not bearing my sorrows as so wise a man as you thinks I ought to bear them: but at times I am almost overpowered by my anguish, and can hardly support myself, for I have not those sources of consolation to which others, whose example I place before me, have turned in similar calamities. Even Quintus Maximus †, who lost a highly distinguished son, one who had filled the office of Consul, and had achieved memorable actions; and Lucius Paullus, who was bereaved of two sons in the course of a week, and your Gallus and M. Cato, who had also to deplore the loss of a son of great endowments and eminent virtues ‡: all these lived in days when the honourable consideration they enjoyed in the State could afford them some grounds of comfort. But for me, when I was deprived of all those honours you speak of, the rewards of my own strenuous exertions, one sole source of comfort was still left, which now, alas! is torn from me. Not in zealous labours on behalf of my friends, not in political occupations, did I seek tranquillity for my mind: I might have nothing to do in the Forum: the Curia I could not bear to look upon. I thought, and was it not true? that all the fruits of my diligence and good fortune were lost. But when the reflection that the same fate had befallen you and others made me resolve to bear my reverses with fortitude, one spot was still left me whither I could turn for shelter

* In answer to his famous letter of consolation, *Ep.* 557. (*Div.* iv. 5.)

† Quintus Fabius Maximus, Cunctator, *De Senect.* 4.

‡ Cato Censorinus. Gallus belonged to the Sulpician family. L. Paullus was the conqueror of Perseus. *Liv.* 45. 40.

and peace. A daughter I had, in whose attractions and conversation I forgot all my cares and anxieties. But since this last wound pierced me, the others, which I thought were healed, seemed to open afresh. All is changed. Formerly, when the Commonwealth dismissed me sorrowing, my home received me with solace; but now, when the aspect of that home fills me with sadness, no solace, no peace, do I find in the Commonwealth. Thus, neither at home nor in the Forum can I rest: my home offers me no consolation for the state of public affairs, and public affairs afford no relief from my domestic sorrows.”¹

¹ *Ep.* 565.
(*Div.* iv. 6.)

From the month of March to that of May Cicero remained in the retirement of Astura, from whence many of his letters to Atticus are dated. Already in the earliest of them he mentions an idea which had first occurred to him at his friend's suburban residence, and which occupied him busily the whole summer through. He talks of it eagerly in all his letters to Atticus, and it would appear to have kept him more than anything else from utter despair. He desired to erect a monument to his daughter's memory. It was to be a temple, and was to be erected on a spot where it might attract general observation. No cost should be spared in the purchase of an appropriate piece of ground. It was nothing short of an apotheosis he meditated, and he regarded the scheme in the light of a vow, which burdened his soul till it should be put in execution.² “Regard no expense,”* he writes to Atticus; “silver utensils, costly carpets, elegant villas, I can dispense with; but this one object is a necessity to me.” And again: “I need not large revenues; I can live con-

² *Epp.* 528, 2.; 569, 2.; 561, 1.
(*Att.* xii. 12. 41. 36.)

* This refers to some gardens in the vicinity of the city, which he was desirous of purchasing for the monument. There are allusions to this subject in almost all the letters 528—613, which are for the most part addressed to Atticus. The temple is also mentioned in *Ep.* 727.

tentedly on small means; but what I desire is to raise a monument which, as though dedicated to a deity, shall survive all the changes of property which distant futurity may entail.”¹

¹ *Epp.* 541, 1.;
535, 1. (*Att.*
xii. 23. 19.)

Various plans were proposed and rejected, and many sagacious advisers applied to. All the writings of the most cultivated ages, Greek and Roman, were consulted, that the monument might be everything that could be desired.² Cicero seems to have thought of nothing else.

² *Ep.* 533, 1.
(*Att.* xii. 13.)

Atticus, however, to whom he had entrusted the purchase of the ground and other business connected with it, found many difficulties in his way. Possibly he thought the prudence of the whole affair questionable. His inactivity called forth frequent admonitions from his friend. The monument, it would appear, was never erected. The times, indeed, were not favourable to an undertaking for the success of which order and tranquillity were requisite.

For at least half a year Cicero continued to avoid social intercourse, and resided on his country estates; first at Astura, and subsequently at Antium, Arpinum and Tusculum.* His friends did all they could to divert and console him, and endeavoured to persuade him to return to Rome, where his presence was ardently desired by many.³

³ *Epp.* 567, 3.;
568, a.; 538,
5. (*Att.* xii.
40.; *Div.* v.
14.; *Att.* xii.
21.)

But their entreaties were in vain. If he had conceived a distaste for public life before, he now regarded it with perfect abhorrence. Some of the letters of condolence addressed to him in his solitude are extant. Besides the celebrated letter of Sulpicius†⁴, we have one from Luc-⁴ *Ep.* 557.
(*Div.* iv. 5.)
ceius⁵, the same friend whom he had urged so warmly⁵ *Ep.* 568.
(*Div.* v. 14.)
to write the history of his Consulate. We regret the loss

* Till the month of April Cicero's letters are dated from Astura; and from that time till the end of August or the beginning of September from his other villas.

†

“The Roman friend of Rome's least mortal mind.”

Byron, *Childe Har.* iv. 44.

of one from Brutus, dated from his province of Gaul. Cicero says it was sensible and friendly, but cost him many tears, and failed, at the time, of its intended effect.¹ We see how reluctant he was to mix with others, from his expressions of dissatisfaction at the visit of Varro, with whom he had become intimate the preceding year.* Atticus was the only person, at least in the earlier days of his sorrow, whose society was welcome to him.² "I wish for you alone," he says in his second letter from Astura. And in a later one we have the words already quoted: "Next to you I love nothing so well as solitude."³ Again: "If there is an alleviation for my sorrow, it is to be found in you alone." But even this sentiment was not without disturbance. The following words express a painful feeling: "You can no longer be to me what you have been, for all that you loved in me has passed away." And in June he writes: "The cheerfulness with which I helped myself through the troubles of these times has abandoned me for ever."⁴ Of this feeling he could not divest himself.

In a letter to Luceius he confesses that his stoicism (which was in reality never very genuine, though he magnifies it in this place) had been shaken by all the storms he had experienced. But in April he speaks more tranquilly⁵: by that time he had begun to recover himself. Possibly, the self-complacency derived from the recollection of former days may have conduced to this; but there can be no doubt, in spite of what he himself says, that he was mainly indebted for this slight degree of amendment to his intellectual pursuits.† "I write here

* *Att.* xiii. 33. We find from *Att.* xiii. 19. and other letters, that their friendship never became very intimate.

† He writes to Luceius, *Ep.* 558. (*Div.* v. 13.): *Præstitimus patriæ non minus certe quam debuimus, plus profecto quam est ab animo cujusquam aut consilii hominis postulatum.*

(at Antium) for days together," he says to Atticus; "not that my grief is thereby lessened, but it is partially diverted:" and again: "It is incredible how much I write, all day, and on into the night also; for sleep does not visit my eyes.*¹

It was to be expected that philosophy would be his principal study; and accordingly we owe to this period of mournful leisure the completion of the work begun the year before, *De Finibus bonorum et malorum*, and also the *Academicæ Quæstiones*. The latter treatise was originally comprised in two books², but these on a subsequent revision were expanded to four. Varro having expressed a wish to appear in the character of one of the interlocutors, Cicero dedicated the work to that learned friend.†³ To the same period probably may be referred the *Hortensius*, a dialogue, in which he set up a defence of Philosophy in opposition to the exaggerated estimation in which Eloquence was held; and recommended its cultivation.‡ Besides these writings, he planned others; and proposed to dedicate a work to his former son-in-law⁴, but seems to have abandoned the idea. But what we most regret is the loss of a treatise on the future government of the Commonwealth, addressed to Cæsar by the advice of Atticus, but destroyed by the author on changing his mind. He had sent this essay to Hirtius and Balbus, Cæsar's friends, for their opinion; but they suggested so

¹ *Epp.* 563, 1.; 570, 3. (*Att.* xii. 38.; xiii. 26.)

² *Ep.* 574, 1. (*Att.* xii. 45.)

³ *Epp.* 591, 3.; 603, 3.; 604, 1.; 610, 3.; 617. (*Att.* xiii. 32. 12. 13. 19. 25.)

⁴ *Ep.* 601, 2. (*Att.* xiii. 10.)

* Compare what has been said in earlier letters, 530, 3.; 546, 3. (*Att.* xii. 14. 28.)

† Of the work in four books we possess only a part of the first. The sixteenth letter of Schütz's collection is the dedicatory epistle to Varro. The second book (*Div.* ix. 8.) of the original work, which bears the title of *Lucullus*, has been entirely preserved. [See Smith's *Biogr. Dict.*, art. *Cicero*, i. 734.]

‡ *Tusc. Qu.* ii. 2.; *De Div.* ii. 1. The *Hortensius* has been lost, with the exception of a few citations. [See art. *Cicero*.]

many alterations, that Cicero, if he had attended to them, must have rewritten the whole work. They thought its tendency too aristocratic: the author on the contrary was only glad to have the opportunity of suppressing it, because he considered it too flattering to the conqueror. In a letter to Atticus, he says; "I have passed sentence on the epistle I had addressed to Cæsar. My advice to him was indeed the same, according to his friends, with his own expressed intentions. He said he should not march against the Parthians until he had set the State in order; and this is what I recommended also: but if it should please him to act otherwise, I gave him permission to do so. For of course this was what he was waiting for: he would hardly venture to undertake anything without my approval.* But come, pray let us have no more of this folly; and let us secure ourselves a partial freedom at least, which we may manage to do by silence and concealment."¹

¹ *Epp.* 590, 3.; 567, 2.; 570, 3.; 578, 3.; 580, 3.; 586, 1.; 587, 2. (*Att.* xiii. 31.; xii. 40.; xiii. 26.; xii. 49. 51.; xiii. 27. 28.)

While we regret the loss of this treatise, so characteristic of its author, it must be owned that it was his good genius which cautioned him against sending it to Cæsar, for it bore no doubt the strong impress of the Optimate. He now turned anew to his philosophical studies, and felt the truth of what his friend Luceius had said. "If you are happy in solitude, and can write and pursue your wonted occupations, I am satisfied, and I do not blame your resolution. For nothing strengthens and revives the mind more than study, not in dreary times like these only, but in bright and prosperous seasons likewise. More especially beneficial is it to a mind like yours, seeking rest after the

* We may guess what the style of this epistle was from this ironical remark. It appears to have suggested to Cicero the idea of his more comprehensive work "*de Republica*," the materials for which we find him busied in collecting in *Epp.* 589, 3.; 591, 4.; 592, 4.; 593, 5. (*Att.* xiii. 30. 32, 33. 6.)

exhaustion of noble efforts, and capable from its own rich endowments of producing what may delight others, and acquire for yourself praise and repute.”¹ In the month of August we find Cicero employed upon the second of the Tusculan Disputations.² The treatise addressed to Cæsar³ was composed in June.

¹ *Ep.* 568, a.
(*Div.* v. 14.)

² *Ep.* 621.
(*Att.* xiii. 38.)

Intellectual occupation was the more necessary to him, as his own home and family afforded him no comfort.³ How unsuitable was his second marriage, may be gathered from his annoyance when the mother and brother of his young wife offered to visit him at Astura, and she humbly begged to be allowed to accompany them.⁴ It soon came to a divorce; the ground of which, according to Plutarch, was the joy Publilia testified at the death of Tullia. It appears from certain indications in the letters, that this happened as early as the summer of the present year. Cicero had to refund the marriage portion, which had been his only motive for the match. Atticus transacted this business for him with the wife's brother.⁵

³ *Ep.* 568, b.
(*Div.* v. 15.)

⁴ *Ep.* 550.;
comp. 556, l.
(*Att.* xii. 32.
34.); *Plut. Cic.*
41.

⁵ *Epp.* 629.;
632.; 650, 2.
(*Att.* xiii. 34.
47. 52.)

We hear little of Quintus at this time. Probably Cicero's relations with his brother were not very cordial. The younger Quintus returned to Italy after the close of the Spanish campaign. His father who went to meet him, received him at first with displeasure, but, changeable in all his moods, soon adopted a milder tone towards him. With his mother and with Atticus, the impetuous young man was not on the happiest terms. His uncle received him coolly.⁶ On the other hand, Cicero found a soothing occupation in watching over the little grandson bequeathed him by Tullia.* In the midst of his gravest cares, we find him anxious for the welfare of this child, and there is

⁶ *Epp.* 623.;
624.; 651, l.
(*Att.* xiii. 40.
41. 42.)

* This grandchild was named Lentulus, after his father Lentulus Dolabella. Whether this was an elder son of Tullia, or the child in giving birth to whom she died, is uncertain.

something touching in the mention he makes of it in his will, and his recommendation of it to his friend.¹ He was induced to make this will in consequence of the embarrassment and confusion of his pecuniary affairs, arising from his divorce after so many years of conjugal union, his second marriage, and the separation following thereupon: the thought of death, moreover, had been brought before his mind more vividly by his recent loss. Several letters at this period are occupied with the subject.²

The aspect of public affairs would seem to have given him occasionally some faint hopes of seeing the restoration of the Republic in a form not altogether dissimilar from that of his cherished ideas. Thus, in the commencement of the year 709, he writes to Trebonius, then in exile: "He who now has all the real power in his hands, approaches every day nearer to the principles of justice and nature; and our cause must of necessity lift its head and flourish again, when the Republic rises from that prostration to which it cannot for ever be condemned. Liberal and moderate views are daily gaining ground here."³ Yet before long, all is despair again. "Examine all the parts and members of the Commonwealth," he writes to Lucceius, "and you will not find one that is not broken or enfeebled. What is there amongst us which is not in fact destroyed?"⁴ No doubt his hopes and fears varied with the frame of his mind. We remark an increasing cordiality in his relations with Brutus, who had returned this summer from the Cisalpine Gaul, where Pansa succeeded him.⁵ As yet indeed Brutus was on terms of amity with Cæsar, having been favourably treated by the conqueror after the battle of Pharsalia, where he had fought on Pompeius's side, and had been entrusted by him with the administration of that important province. After the defeat of the

¹ *Epp.* 533, 8.; 546, 7.; 548. (*Att.* xii. 18. 28. 30.)

² e. g. *Epp.* 538, 8.; 617, 2. (*Att.* xii. 21; xiii. 25.)

³ *Ep.* 527, 2.; comp. 596. (*Div.* vi. 10. 21.)

⁴ *Ep.* 558. (*Div.* iv. 13.)

⁵ *Ep.* 520, 4. (*Div.* xv. 17.)

peians in Spain, Brutus made a journey on purpose to meet Cæsar, and seems thereby to have somewhat cooled the ardour of Cicero's friendship. However, he made up for it by writing a panegyric on Cato*, and having divorced himself from his wife Claudia, daughter of Appius, he married Cato's daughter Portia, lately the wife of Bibulus. This event caused Cicero the greatest

action.¹ Henceforth he testified the utmost consideration for Brutus, and dedicated to him his lately finished *De Finibus*. This summer too he composed a panegyric on Portia, the sister of Cato, who had married the noble Domitius Ahenobarbus, slain in the civil war.² Again we see how little he would stoop to any base consideration of his personal feelings and opinions.

That he was conscious of a wide separation between himself and Cæsar, is manifest from the cold manner in which he speaks of a letter of condolence addressed by the Emperor to the afflicted father.³ It was dated from Capua, on the last day of April. To us there is something touching in beholding Cæsar, after the hard-won victory which was to secure his dominions, turn his thoughts immediately to his suffering friend. But Cicero felt that he could not consistently with honour unite heartily with a man whose sway becoming each day more firmly riveted, had put out every hope of the re-establishment of the Republic longed for: and the horror he had experienced four years before on seeing the upstart minions of Cæsar was still fresh in his memory.

After he had destroyed the treatise intended for Cæsar,

Cicero was not altogether satisfied with this panegyric. Brutus had previously asserted that Cato had been the first to give his sentence in favour of the execution of the Catilinarians; and Cicero's services in the discovery of the conspiracy were, besides, not brought prominently enough forward. *Ep.* 538, 1. (*Att.* xii. 21.)

which we have before described, he wrote to Atticus: "Do not you know that the pupil of Aristotle, the man most distinguished for genius and modesty, when once he had obtained the appellation of king* became proud and vindictive, and no longer knew how to bridle his passions? How then can you imagine that he whose statue has figured amongst those of the Gods, he who has dwelt under the same roof with Quirinus, will take any pleasure in a work which preaches moderation?"†

And now honours were lavished on the conqueror of Pompeius's sons, most revolting to Cicero's mind. Cæsar celebrated a gorgeous triumph; and it was decreed that the robe which adorned him on this occasion should be worn by him at every festival, and that his head should always be encircled with the laurel wreath. He was honoured with the title of Deliverer; and the word Imperator, prefixed to his name, acquired a signification never before attached to it. The State, moreover, presented him with a public residence; and the Dictatorship was prolonged for the term of his life.¹ His statue inscribed with the words "To the invincible God," having been placed in the temple of Romulus which stood next to that of the Dea Salus, on the Quirinal hill, Cicero observed to Atticus: "Would he were indeed a neighbour of Quirinus, rather than of Salus."‡ And in another letter he begins thus: "Does Brutus really say that Cæsar wishes to ally himself with the Optimates? A joyful piece of news truly; but where will he find any Optimates? unless he should be good

* *i. e.* the great king, the king of Persia.

† *Ep.* 587, 2. (*Att.* xiii. 28.) In one of the processions with which the games of the Circus were opened, the statue of Cæsar was carried amongst those of the Gods. *Suet. Jul.* 7.; *Ep.* 626, 1. (*Att.* xiii. 44.)

‡ That is, were withdrawn from the land of the living. *Ep.* 574, 4 (*Att.* xii. 45.); comp. 587, 2.; 626, 1. (*Att.* xiii. 28. 44.)

enough to go and hang himself;"¹ after which he proceeds to express in no ambiguous terms, his wish, rather than his expectation, that some Brutus or Ahala might be forthcoming. He was wholly unqualified himself to act such a part. When the younger Quintus, seeking to do him an ill turn, maliciously observed in Cæsar's camp, that "it would be well to be on one's guard against him," Cicero wrote to Atticus: "This might give cause for apprehension, did not Cæsar know that I have not a spark of courage in me."² True it was, that apart from the free utterance of his principles in his writings, Cicero's courage only showed itself in occasional jokes and sarcasms upon Cæsar's conduct.³ There was nothing indeed for him but to submit to the conqueror, and hope patiently for the continuance of his favour. Two letters which he sent to Cæsar in Spain, from his retirement at Astura⁴, are not a little remarkable in this point of view. Their purport was to recommend to him a young friend of his own, and a freedman of P. Crassus. In the first of them he says: "The father of the young man I recommend to you (Præcilius) used to laugh at me and reproach me because I did not connect myself more closely with you, especially when you urged me to it in so honourable a manner; ἄλλ' ἐμὸν οὐπότ' ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθεν⁵, for the voice of our great ones continually sounded in my ears,

Ἀλκιμός ἐσσι, ἵνα τίς σε καὶ ὀψιγόνων εὖ εἴπῃ.⁶

⁶ *Odyss.* i. 303.

Admonitions such as these could not fail to soothe and console me; and when they repeated

Μή μαν ἀσπὸνδῇ γε καὶ ἀκλείως ἀπολόιμην,
Ἄλλὰ μέγα ῥέξας τι, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι⁷,

⁷ *Il.* xxii. 304. 5.

they were like to set on fire one who had already

scorched himself before the flame of empty glory. But you see I am not to be moved by them. And thus I turn from Homer's magniloquence to the sage precept of Euripides:

*Μισῶ σοφίστην, ὅστις οὐχ ἀντὶ σόφου.**

The elder Præcilius commends this verse highly; and he says that a man may look 'both before and behind him,' *ἀμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσσω*¹, and none the less,

¹ *Π.* i. 343.

*Ἄϊεν ἀριστεύειν καὶ ὑπέροχον ἐμμέναι ἄλλων."*²

² *Π.* xi. 783.

Whoever has learnt to understand Cicero from his letters, will not accuse him in this passage of flattery, but will rather recognize in it a curious mixture of honesty, sagacity and simplicity. The sagacity is shown in the peculiar style adopted, for it is well known that Cæsar was fond of quotations from the old poets.

Though Cicero continued on amicable terms with the Emperor's friends, he could not, during this year of sorrow, live with them as familiarly as he had done before: and hence his intimacy gradually declined, both with them and with Cæsar. He was annoyed too with Hirtius for writing in disparaging terms of Cato, and paying no regard to his own panegyric.³

³ *Epp.* 634.; 574, 5.; 567, 1. (*Att.* xiii. 49.; xii. 45. 40.)

We find him in a more tranquil frame of mind towards the autumn of this year, when Cæsar was expected in Rome after the close of his war against the sons of Pompeius. He no longer refuses to comply with the wishes of his friends when fitting occasions arise for him to take a part in public affairs; as for instance, when Lepidus, the Master of the Horse, invites him to come from Tusculum and be present in the Senate on the 1st of September, a

* It is not known to what tragedy of Euripides this verse belongs.

proceeding, he said, which could not fail to gratify Cæsar.¹ <sup>*Ep. 632.*
(*Att. xiii. 47.*)</sup> When Ariarathes, brother of the king of Cappadocia, was about to visit Rome, Cicero, who had cultivated very friendly relations with him ever since the period of his Proconsulate, wrote to him from Tusculum in June, requesting him to make use of his own residence.² Atticus³ <sup>*Ep. 584, 2.*
(*Att. xiii. 2.*)</sup> having urged him to address a forcible epistle to Cæsar, then on the point of returning, he accordingly set himself to the task, and Brutus, on occasion of a visit he paid him at Tusculum, approved of what he had done. However the epistle, which consisted of remarks upon Cæsar's *Anti-Cato*, was finished, and the author sent it to Oppius and Balbus, who wrote in reply that they had never read a better composition. They caused it to be forwarded to the Dictator. When it was despatched, Cicero wrote to Atticus: "It was mere forgetfulness in me not to send you a copy of my letter to Cæsar. It did not proceed from the cause you surmise, *i. e.* that I had adopted so ridiculously subservient a tone that I was ashamed to let you see it. I assure you I have written just as if Cæsar were my equal. But I do really think well of his work, as I have before told you. I have addressed him then without flattery; and yet I think he will never have read anything more to his liking." *

Cæsar gained the victory of Munda on March 17th, the festival of the Liberalia. Cnæus, the eldest son of Pompeius, whom Cassius on a former occasion writing to Cicero calls a "fool,"³ was slain in the pursuit; the younger³ <sup>*Ep. 523, 2.*
(*Div. xv. 19.*)</sup> Sextus made his escape. T. Labienus was amongst the 30,000 Pompeians whose dead bodies strewed the field of battle.⁴ In October Cæsar was in Rome, and Cicero ap-⁴ <sup>*De Bell.*
Hisp. 31.</sup>

* *Ep. 637, 1.* (*Att. xiii. 51.*) What must Cato's real friends have thought of this epistle?

Vell. P. ii.
 36.; *Ep.* 636,
 5. (*Att.* xiii.
 30.)

pears to have gone to meet him on his disembarkation.¹ On his Dictatorship being prolonged for life, he laid down the office of Consul, in which Q. Fabius Maximus and C. Trebonius were appointed to succeed him.

² *Ep.* 640.
 (*Div.* xii. 17.)

And now Cicero once more took up his residence in the city, whence he writes in October to his friend Cornificius: "The utmost tranquillity prevails here; yet I would rather witness a healthy activity, worthy of our Commonwealth; and I am not without hope of it, for I see Cæsar's thoughts also tend that way."² The partition of the promised lands amongst his veterans now engaged Cæsar's attention; and Cicero exerted what influence he possessed with those charged with the business, on behalf of certain districts and individuals.³ At this time also he made a speech in defence of King Deiotarus⁴, for whom Brutus had before interceded with Cæsar.⁵ This defence, though it did not immediately produce an acquittal, doubtless helped in determining the Imperator to defer the final sentence till he could institute a regular inquiry into the circumstances on the spot.*

³ *Ep.* 641—
 644. (*Div.*
 xiii. 4—9.)

⁴ *Ep.* 649.
 (*Div.* ix. 14.)

⁵ *Ep.* 679.
 (*Att.* xiv. 1.)

But if Cicero appears on the whole more reconciled to life, the posture of affairs could assuredly give him no ground for real satisfaction. "Here is peace," he writes again to Cornificius, "but such a peace as would not please you greatly were you amongst us, and which certainly does not please Cæsar. For the close of the civil war brings with it not merely the absolute supremacy of

* Deiotarus, Tetrarch of the greater part of Galatia, was a faithful ally of the Roman people; and, after the Asiatic wars of Sulla, Lucullus and Pompeius, he had received an addition to his territories with the title of king. He adhered to his patron Pompeius till after the battle of Pharsalia, when he went over to Cæsar, and assisted him against Pharnaces. Cæsar had deprived him of the Lesser Armenia, but had left him the regal title. He was now accused by his grandson, Castor, of an attempt against Cæsar's life, and the Imperator was consequently prejudiced against him.

the conqueror's will, but a necessity likewise of submitting ourselves to those who have helped him to gain the victory."¹ Many an edict which Cæsar now fearlessly put forth without any regard to old prescriptive forms, ran sorely counter to his feelings. Such were the partition of lands amongst the veterans; the final triumph in commemoration of a victory gained over Romans², and the shows that followed thereupon, when Laberius, an aged member of that Equestrian order so highly esteemed by Cicero, was compelled to enact his own Mimes³; the extension of the Pomœrium at the suggestion of a Greek; and the establishment of a body-guard for personal attendance on the conqueror.⁴ But what principally annoyed him was Cæsar's arbitrary conduct on the last day of the year, when, the Consul Q. Maximus having died that morning, he had Caninius Rebilus appointed to hold the office for the remainder of the day.⁵ This act might indeed have borne a milder construction; but Cicero was angry; and though he allows some jests to escape him upon the Consul "under whose rule no one had ever breakfasted," and who was so watchful that "he had not once slept during his Consulate," he adds in the same letter: "This may appear laughable to you. But you are not *here*. If you were to see it with your own eyes, you would hardly refrain from weeping. How, if I were to tell you of other things? For I could relate many more of the same kind. Indeed I could not endure this state of things myself, had I not taken shelter in the haven of Philosophy; and had I not Atticus the companion of my studies with me."

With these views, he would have been glad to keep aloof from Rome, which in his eyes seemed to have lost all the polish and refinement of former days.⁶ Had he been less prejudiced, he might have brought himself to acknow-

¹ *Ep.* 645.
(*Div.* xii. 18.)

² *Plut. Cæs.*
56.

³ *Ep.* 645.
(*Div.* xii. 18.)

⁴ *Epp.* 619, 1.;
650. (*Att.* xiii.
35. 52.)

⁵ *Ep.* 652, 1.
(*Div.* vii. 30.)

⁶ *Ep.* 656.
(*Div.* vii. 31.)

ledge that true refinement had still its representative in Cæsar: not the same indeed with that which was the natural product of the manners of the old Republic; but a quality adapted to the civilization of more recent times, and of which Cicero's genius might have made him one of the brightest models. He left the capital as soon as he was permitted to do so. At the end of December we find him at his Tusculan villa, from whence he unwillingly obeyed the summons of Lepidus to be present as Augur at the consecration of a temple to Mars built by Cæsar. The earlier part of the same month found him on his estate near Puteoli, where he entertained the Dictator during the Saturnalia.¹ He describes this visit to Atticus. The behaviour of Cæsar, "who forbore from entering into any conversation of a serious or political character, and confining himself to literary topics only, enjoyed himself greatly, and appeared highly content with his host,"* was calculated to make Cicero take a new survey of his relations with the ruler of the Roman world, and decide on his future line of conduct accordingly.

¹ *Epp.* 651, 3.; 650. (*Att.* xiii. 42. 52.)

From the commencement of the year 709 to the close of

* "On the third day of the Saturnalia," says the letter, "Cæsar was with Philippus at his Puteolanum (L. Marcius Philippus, husband of Cæsar's niece Atia, stepfather of Octavius). He kept quite private; I fancy he was looking over his accounts with Balbus. He took a walk on the beach at one; came to me and had a bath at two, when he heard a lampoon about himself and Mamurra read to him, at which he showed no vexation. After anointing he lay down to supper. He intended to take an emetic, so he eat and drank freely, and much to his satisfaction. Indeed I feasted him sumptuously,

"Nor was wanting

The sauce that savours food, good conversation.'

Moreover, I entertained his retinue liberally in three rooms; even his freedmen and slaves were not uncared for. In short, I acquitted myself handsomely. But the guest, after all, was not the sort of person one would say, Call again on your way back, to. Once is enough."

the period with which we have now been occupied, we have 141 letters; of which ninety-five are addressed to Atticus, and these, with two exceptions only, are all written between March and the beginning of September. We have already given an insight into their principal contents. Perhaps there was no period of his life when Cicero felt more fully the happiness of having such a friend.

The remaining forty-six are chiefly addressed to various persons of consequence. We have mentioned the two to Cæsar. There are four to Dolabella, who was with him in Spain. Cicero's intercourse with his former son-in-law continued outwardly on the same footing as before. A letter of the preceding year shows that it was then carried on in somewhat of a jocular strain.¹ Nor was it interrupted by subsequent events. A letter of Dolabella's, written soon after Tullia's death, contains some touches of true feeling; and he visited his late father-in-law at Astura immediately after his return from Spain.² Cicero, who was naturally peaceable, had besides an interested motive in not wishing to quarrel with one who was making daily advances in Cæsar's favour. Dolabella, moreover, would really appear to have possessed many ingratiating qualities.

Three of the letters are to C. Cassius, who was then residing at Brundisium: and we have his replies to two of them. He had combated by sea on the side of Pompeius, and even after the battle of Pharsalia he might at the head of seventy triremes have attacked and taken Cæsar; but his energies seemed to succumb before the hero's genius and good fortune, and he surrendered to him at discretion.³ In these letters we find him renouncing his former Stoical tenets and professing Epicureanism, which gives Cicero occasion to rally him. The following words

¹ *Ep.* 519.
(*Div.* ix. 10.)

² *Epp.* 537.;
632. (*Div.* ix.
11.; *Att.* xiii.
47.)

³ *App. Bell.*
Civ. ii. 88.;
comp. *Dio*
Cass. xlii.
13.

in one of his letters are remarkable, coming from the pen of one who fourteen months later was amongst the foremost of Cæsar's murderers. "I am now under real apprehension*, and would far rather have our own gracious master, whom we are accustomed to, than a new and savage one."¹ From the first of Cicero's letters to Cassius, we find that a friendly intercourse had subsisted between them from early times.²

¹ *Ep.* 523, 2. (*Div.* xv. 19.)

² *Ep.* 519. (*Div.* xv. 18); comp. 241, 2. (*Div.* xv. 14.)

³ *Epp.* 557.; 566. (*Div.* iv. 5. 12.)

⁴ *Ep.* 601, 5.; comp. Val. Max. ix. 11. (*Att.* xiii. 10.)

⁵ *Ep.* 525. (*Div.* iv. 10.)

Besides the celebrated letter of condolence from S. Sulpicius, we have another from the same correspondent, in which he relates the assassination of his former colleague in the Consulate, M. Marcellus, on his way home from exile.³ It took place at the Piræus, in May, and many people thought that it had been instigated by Cæsar. Atticus ever warned Cicero to be on his guard; and Brutus wrote to him for the purpose of removing any such suspicion from his mind, but Cicero declared it to be unnecessary.⁴ Of his own letters at this time, only one is addressed to Sulpicius, which is in answer to the above-mentioned letter of condolence. One is to Marcellus, written some months before his assassination, and urging him to hasten his return to Rome.⁵

There are two letters to Luceius, and one from him. These are amongst the most interesting of our collection. They relate to Cicero's heavy loss.

The four beautiful letters to A. Torquatus, and two to Torannius and Trebianus, show how solicitous he was, in the midst of his own sufferings, to convey comfort and hope to the minds of such of his friends as were enduring the pain of banishment in consequence of Cæsar's victory.†

* In allusion to the war in Spain, then waging between Cæsar and the young Cnæus Pompeius.

† A. Manlius Torquatus, to whom Cicero was greatly attached (*De Fin.* ii. 22.), was Prætor under the third Consulate of Pompeius. After the battle

On the other hand we read with dissatisfaction three letters from P. Vatinius to Cicero, and one from Cicero to him. Vatinius was the notorious Tribune who during Cæsar's first Consulate had excited Cicero's vehement enmity by his audacious and unprincipled conduct; until, at the instances of Cæsar and Pompeius, the orator consented to come forward with a speech in his defence. Having been Consul for the last few months of the year 707, Vatinius now administered the Proconsular government in Illyricum. At the head of a small army he had obtained some military successes for which he claimed the honour of a public thanksgiving (*supplicatio*), and he requested Cicero to assist him in obtaining it. Cicero complied, and Vatinius obtained his object. Ambitious of more distinguished honours, the Proconsul next undertook a campaign against some independent tribes of Dalmatia; but his enterprise failed, and fearing Cæsar's displeasure, he again applied to Cicero to intercede for him.¹ In a subsequent letter Vatinius thus expressed his anxiety and embarrassment: "You make too hard demands upon me. Can you indeed take *such* clients and *such* causes under your protection? (he alluded to C. Atilius)* the most atrocious of men, one who has murdered, imprisoned, or plundered so many free-born subjects, matrons and citizens, and has wasted so many districts. What can I do? I would gladly satisfy all your demands. The criminal shall be excused the penalty of death for your sake. But what answer can I give to those who bring

¹ *Epp.* 598.; 648. (*Div.* v. 9. 10.); comp. 654. (*Div.* v. 10.)

of Pharsalia he lived in exile at Athens; he was afterwards permitted to return to Italy but not to Rome. Torannius had been Prætor in the year 695; he was an adherent of the Pompeians, and lived as an exile in Sicily. The name of Trebianus is uncertain.

* Atilius was apparently a proscribed Pompeian, who in desperation made piratical expeditions on the Illyrian and Dalmatian coasts.

accusations against him for the plunder of their goods, the seizure of their vessels, the slaughter of their brothers, children and parents? Truly, if I had the effrontery of my predecessor Appius, it would not avail me here.”* Vatinius tried various means to secure Cicero’s favour. When Dionysius, the orator’s slave and librarian, notwithstanding the forbearance with which he was often treated, ran off one day, carrying several of his master’s books with him†, Vatinius made great endeavours to get him power and send him back to Cicero; but he does not appear to have succeeded.¹

¹ *Epp.* 618.; 646.; 654. (*Div.* xlii. 77.; v. 11. 10.)

² *Ep.* 616. (*Div.* ix. 8.)

³ *Ep.* 617, 3. (*Att.* xlii. 25.)

⁴ *Epp.* 635.; 638. (*Div.* vii. 24. 25.)

⁵ *Epp.* 634; 636, 4.; 637, 3. (*Att.* xlii. 49. 50. 51.)

Among the remaining letters we would specify as most deserving of notice, one to Varro², being the dedication of the *Academicæ Quæstiones*, of which Cicero himself declares, “Never shall I accomplish anything equal to it again;” then, two letters to Fabius Gallus, his Epicurean friend⁴, relating to Tigellius the great singer and flute player, and Cæsar’s household friend, whose displeasure Cicero had drawn upon himself.⁵ Comparing these letters with some to Atticus on the same subject, we are struck with the writer’s sensitiveness about the disposition manifested towards him by one whom he professed to despise: and we are equally struck with the compound of frankness and timidity, so characteristic of this great man, which the second of his letters to Gallus brings before us. Finally, we would mention three letters to Cornificius, who administered the province of Africa, and two to Curius, the faithful attendant upon Tiro at Patræ.‡

* *Ep.* 654. (*Div.* v. 10.) This Appius was not Cicero’s predecessor in Cilicia, but another who is unknown.

† This man is not to be confounded with Dionysius the freedman of Atticus.

‡ Besides these there are also belonging to this period two letters to Lepta, *Præfectus Fabrorum* to Cicero when Proconsul, with whom he was on terms of friendship; one to P. Sulpicius, who was associated with

During the two months and a half of the year 710 which preceded Cæsar's assassination, four letters only of Cicero's are extant, of which the only remarkable one is that where he informs his friend Curius of the appointment of Caninius Rebilus, the Consul of a day. At this period Cicero was residing in Rome: and hence there is a break in his correspondence with Atticus just at the time when his letters would have been most welcome to us. How gladly would we have heard what he had to say upon the projected expedition against the Parthians, or the outpouring of his feelings on occasion of the offer of the diadem to Cæsar by the Consul Antonius¹: and besides,^{1 Phil. ii. 34.} is it likely that the schemes over which his friends Brutus and Cassius were then brooding, should altogether have escaped his penetrating glance? Living at Rome during those months, the gloom of his feelings must surely have acquired a deeper hue. Cæsar, who now looked upon his authority as securely established, ventured upon many acts of power which must have appeared monstrous to an Optimate of the old Republic. In his letter to Curius, Cicero says: "Willingly would I fly from hence, and seek a spot 'where neither the name nor deeds of the Pelopidæ might reach my ear.'"* What must have been his sensations then on hearing Cæsar called the Father of his Country!† He was still in Rome when the fatal Ides of March arrived: and from a passage in one of his letters to

Vatinius in the command of Illyria; one to Auctus, the Proconsul of Achaia; and four to Valerius Orca, M. Rutilius, and Cluvius, the commissioners for the distribution of lands. There is also one letter from Curius to Cicero.

* This is apparently a quotation from an ancient tragedy no longer extant.

† Liv. *Epit.* cxvi. Even if he had known the line, *Roma Patrem Patriæ Ciceronem libera dixit*, he might have added, *Nunc dicit dominum serva Patrem Patriæ*.

Atticus we might perhaps infer that he was a personal witness of the terrible deed.*¹

¹ *Ep.* 693, 2.
(*Att.* xiv. 14.)

² *Epp.* 684.
503. *et al. el.*
(*Att.* xiv. 6.
14.)

This deed a great genius of our own times has designated "the most absurd that ever was committed,"† while Cicero, condemned to see the frustration of all the hopes he had built upon it, yet found consolation in the reflection that he had witnessed the Ides of March.² Surely it is to the former view we shall feel compelled to yield our assent, when we read the following lamentation from Cicero's pen a month after the event: "One cannot imagine anything more absurd than to praise the Tyrant's murderers to the skies, while we defend the acts of the Tyrant. O merciful Gods! the Tyrant is slain, but tyranny yet lives. A thousand times better were it to die than to bear what is now going on and promises to continue."‡³

³ *Epp.* 684.
688. (*Att.*
xiv. 6. 9.)

And Cicero writes this still unshaken in his political prejudices, nor yet recognizing the truth, that of all men Cæsar alone could have succeeded in guiding Rome to the destined goal, whither for a century past she had been tending, and in averting the evil of those fearful days to come, in which he was himself fated to fall a victim.

* [*Quid mihi attulerit ista domini mutatio præter lætitiā, quam oculis cepi justo interitu tyranni?*]

† Goethe, *Farbenlehre*, Th. 2. s. 126.

‡ [*Contenti Idibus Martiis simus: qui quidem nostris amicis, divinis viris, aditum ad cælum dederunt, libertatem populo Romano non dederunt.* (*Att.* xiv. 14. 2.)]

BOOK IX.

LETTERS OF CICERO,

RITTEN IN THE LAST FIFTEEN MONTHS OF HIS LIFE, FROM
CÆSAR'S DEATH TO HIS OWN,

IN THE YEARS

710 AND 711. B. C. 44 AND 43.

CICERO, ANTONIUS, OCTAVIUS.

BOOK IX.

CICERO, ANTONIUS, OCTAVIUS.

A. U. 710. B. C. 44. CIC. 63.

Consuls : MARCUS ANTONIUS ; P. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, suff.

THE rash precipitation with which Cæsar's murder had been resolved on is evident from the want of purpose which appeared among the conspirators immediately after the deed was committed. They seem to have imagined that, the blow once struck, every thing else would follow as a matter of course ; and that the people, exulting in their recovered freedom, would declare at once in favour of their deliverers. But it was not so. The people and the Senate were alike confounded and dismayed ; and the Fathers sought safety by flying from the Curia. The Consul Antonius, whose life had been spared by an ill-judged caprice of mercy, casting off his robe of office, took refuge in his own house, which he closed and fortified. But while the conspirators were losing time in the contemplation of their exploit, he recovered his self-possession, and perceived the advantage he might reap, by dexterous management, from the present posture of affairs. Some of Cæsar's veterans were in the city ; and Lepidus, who had been master of the horse the preceding year, and had been since nominated to the government of the Hither Spain and Narbonensis, possessed a considerable force in the suburbs, which he

stationed in the Forum the night after Cæsar's assassination, in readiness to support all Antonius's measures. Both resolved to conceal their real views till the temper of the people was ascertained, and their adhesion and that of the army secured. The Consul, in order to bind Lepidus more firmly to his interests, promised to give his own daughter in marriage to his son, and likewise obtain for him the Chief-Priesthood, vacant by Cæsar's death.*

As soon as the deed was done, the conspirators had called out Cicero's name, and hailed him as the man from whom were to emanate the measures necessary to the *Phil.* ii. 12 restoration of the Republic.¹ From the Curia, the scene of the murder, they repaired to the Forum; their left hands wrapped in their togas as if for defence, their right hands still grasping their bloody daggers; the cap, the symbol of liberty, elevated on the point of a lance, preceding their steps; and here they summoned the people to rise for the cause of Freedom. Several persons of consequence, Dolabella for instance, Lentulus Spinther, son of the Consular, and Favonius, joined them to share in the glory of the day. But the populace made no sign. Beginning now to distrust it, and apprehensive for their own safety, the conspirators betook themselves to the Capitol, as to a fortress, and from thence scattered money among the multitude; whilst Cæsar's corpse was conveyed by three slaves, in a litter, to his own house.

¹ Dio Cass. xliv. 21.

Cicero, who was doubtless among the first who repaired to the Capitol², urged that the Prætors, Brutus and Cassius, should summon the Senate thither that same day. "What might not then have been accomplished," he writes, a month later, to Atticus, "when all the well-disposed, and even the lukewarm, were rejoicing, and the

² *Att.* xiv. 10. power of bad men was crushed?"³ But his counsel was

* Both these promises were fulfilled.

not followed. On the other hand, the conspirators requested him to go to the Consul Antonius and stimulate him to undertake the cause of the Republic¹; this he very sensibly refused to do. "I replied," he says, in the letter above cited, "that Antonius would promise every thing while he was in fear for his own safety, but as soon as that was over he would be himself again." The courage of the Republicans began to rise when the Prætor Cinna, son of the notorious Consul, and for a moment Dolabella also, declared in their favour, and a portion of the populace came over to their side. At the demand of their partizans, Brutus and Cassius now quitted the Capitol to deliver a public justification of their deed in the Forum, and to propose a plan of action for the future. They made propositions, likewise, with regard to Sextus Pompeius, and then returned again to the Capitol, which was surrounded by a guard of Decimus Brutus's gladiators; showing thereby how insecure they felt themselves, and that their cause had as yet made no progress. They next made proffers of peace to Antonius, who meanwhile had recovered his presence of mind and resumed his Consular authority, and also to Lepidus. But these maintained their resolution of dissembling, being secretly afraid of D. Brutus, who had under his orders a considerable force intended for the province of Cisalpine Gaul, to which he had been recently appointed by Cæsar. They replied that they could not hold intercourse within the walls of Rome with the murderers of the Dictator, whose person the Senate had declared inviolable, and to whom they had pledged themselves by an oath: it was not for them, however, to decide this point on their own responsibility; the Senate should issue a formal decree on the subject. A meeting of that body was promised for the following day, March 17, to be held

Phil. ii. 35.

in the Temple of Tellus, near the dwelling of Antonius. The night before this was to take place, or it may have been two nights before, Antonius caused Cæsar's treasure and papers to be removed to his own house.*

The conspirators, though invited to this meeting of the Senate, did not appear. The Temple of Tellus was surrounded by Cæsar's veterans. Cinna was present among the senators, clad in his Prætorian garb, which he had for the moment laid aside. He had been roughly handled by the populace as a traitor to Cæsar, and barely escaped with his life. Now, however, several in the assembly took the part of the conspirators; and there was even some talk of bestowing marks of public favour upon them.

* This treasure, which Cæsar had deposited in the Temple of Ops, consisted chiefly of the confiscated spoils of the Pompeians. The accounts of its amount differ, though all agree in stating it as considerable. Cicero (*Phil.* ii. 37.) gives 700 millions of sesterces as the sum which, according to the books of accounts, should have been forthcoming. In addition to this, Antonius received from Calpurnia, Cæsar's wife, his private treasure, twenty-five million denarii, which Octavius afterwards demanded from him. (*Plut. Cic.* 43.) In the above narration, as well as in what is next to be related, I have followed Appian principally (*Bell. Civ.* ii. 118. foll.), as his account appears to be most consistent, but I cannot agree with him in the date he assigns to the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, i. e. the 16th of March. Cicero expressly names the feast of the Liberalia, which fell on the 17th. (*Ep.* 689. (*Att.* xiv. 10. 14.); comp. 693, 2. and *Phil.* ii. 35.) The resolutions of Antonius were not so rapidly taken that he could contrive his schemes on the very morning following the eventful Ides. It appears to me that the 16th was the day on which Brutus and Cassius left the Capitol to make their propositions to the people. *Plutarch Cæs.* 67. comp. *Dio Cass.* xliv. 20. foll.; *Plut. Cæs. Brut. Ant. Phil.* ii. [Drumman (*Gesch. Rom. &c.* i. 84.) coincides with Abeken in the arrangement of these dates. He concludes that the transfer of Cæsar's papers and effects to Antonius took place on the night of the 15th—16th; thinking it hardly probable that Calpurnia would have thrown herself so unreservedly into his hands, except in the first moment of alarm, and before she could be reassured by the moderation of the conspirators, the tranquillity of the city, and the military attitude of Lepidus.]

at Antonius employed every artifice to weaken the position of the Republicans. What, he asked, if the other party should gain the upper hand, would become of all the State officers whose appointments were derived from Cæsar's authority? How would the soldiers get their promised lands, if his decrees were to be reversed? Dolabella had been nominated to the Consulate for the period while the Parthian war was expected to keep Cæsar at a distance from Rome, and he had already assumed the reins of office.* By these means Antonius succeeded in gaining over all the veterans, and many persons of distinction, Dolabella amongst them, to his schemes. Next, whilst the Senate was sitting, he endeavoured, in concert with Lepidus, to work on the feelings of the still irresolute populace; and a demand of vengeance for the murdered Dictator was at last excited. Meanwhile, however, the Senate decreed an amnesty for the murderers, which Cæsar was strenuous in advocating¹: the edicts and appointments of the late Emperor were to remain in force. Another decree was passed in favour of the veterans. When Lucius Piso, Cæsar's father-in-law, pressed for the public reading of the will which the Dictator had made in the preceding autumn, and had committed, according to custom, to the care of the College of Vestals²; at the same time he recommended that a public funeral should be solemnized. Both requests were acceded to.

Brutus and Cassius, on their part, summoned the people the same day to the Capitol, where the speech of the former had some effect even upon the veterans themselves, to whom he promised to secure the lands destined them by Cæsar. The following morning the Consuls convened the people in the Forum, where after a long speech from

* This was not agreeable, however, at first, to Antonius. Dio Cass. xliv.

¹ Vell. Pat.
ii. 58.

Cicero¹, the amnesty of the Senate was ratified. and Lepidus sent their sons as hostages for the the conspirators; and thus encouraged, the latter the Capitol and joined the Senate. Brutus supported Lepidus; Cassius with M. Antonius.* They were also at a subsequent sitting of the Senate, where they received the ratification of their appointment by their respective provinces², Macedonia being assigned to Brutus, and Syria to Cassius. But the mutual professions of amity which passed between the leaders were hollow. Antonius and Lepidus had in their hands the means of determining the populace in their accordance with Cæsar's will, which contained the most liberal bequest to the Roman people, was publicly read: his funeral was solemnized. Antonius exerted all his eloquence and every method he could think of, to inflame the multitude on the occasion. The corpse was placed in their presence. Then a tumult arose; the conspirators felt that they were no longer safe, and the apprehension was the greater as they knew that the streets were filled with soldiers who idolized Cæsar.†

² Plut. *Ant.*
14.

* ["While they were at supper, in the course of conversation he asked Cassius whether he had still got a dagger under his arm (under of his toga). 'Yes,' replied he, 'and a big one too, in case you should come to the tyranny.'" Dio Cass. xliv. 34.]

† The Tribune Helvius Cinna was murdered in the tumult. The fire of the funeral pile caught the neighbouring houses. Dio Cass. [The details of this famous ceremony are given with more minuteness by Appian and Suetonius. The principal features of the scene have been seized with marvellous felicity by Shakspeare in the third act of his "Julius Cæsar." But the great dramatist over more probably refrained purposely from marking, the religious enthusiasm which animated it. The mass of the Roman people, amidst the scepticism of the upper classes, was still deeply imbued with a perverted sense of religion. The general admiration for the Emperor had grown into a morbid sentiment of actual devotion.]

Cicero was in Rome on the day of the murder; and, as we have already observed, may possibly have witnessed the terrible deed with his own eyes. Plutarch¹, however, ^{1 Plut. Cic. 42.} expressly affirms that he was not taken into the secret beforehand; and this author's remark is probably true, that Brutus and his friends were too well aware of his utter want of resolution to venture on entrusting him with it. Thus, he said of himself on a former occasion: "Cæsar knows I have not a spark of courage in me." And in the second Philippic he defends himself on very plausible grounds against Antonius, who had reproached him with participation in the plot.² But the best proof of ^{2 Phil. ii. 11.} his innocence is afforded by his words to Cassius and Trebonius (Feb. A. U. 711): "Oh, that you had invited me to that noble banquet on the Ides of March! Assuredly if you had, no fragments would have been left." But that he most truly rejoiced in the event, appears not only from various passages in his letters, but also from a short note

decrees of the Senate which declared him "a god" were no more than a true expression of the popular feeling. The law forbade burning or burying the dead within the city; the first, perhaps, for fear of conflagration amidst the wooden tenements of which old Rome mostly consisted, the second from considerations of health. But it was a prevalent idea that a city was hallowed and secured by containing within its walls the tomb of its tutelary divinity. The same feeling which prompted the Christians to raise churches over the relics of their saints incited the Romans to consume their hero's body in the centre of their capital, in order that the ashes might hallow the spot, the spot the future temple, the temple the city and the State itself. The Senate, the priests, and the Republican party generally, opposed themselves in vain to this inchoate apotheosis. The agents of Antonius promptly availed themselves of the sentiment, and contrived the appearance of the martial youths, who with a javelin in one hand should apply a torch to the pyre with the other. The spot where they appeared was hard by to that on which the Divine Twins were said to have shown themselves to announce the victory at Regillus. Thus a divine sanction was given to the popular sentiment, and the subsequent deification of the Roman emperors owed its first origin to the frenzy of a genuine enthusiasm.]

he addressed to Minutius Basilus, one of the conspirators, immediately after the assassination.*

¹ *Ep.* 679.
(*Att.* xiv. 1.)

He seems to have quitted the city shortly after the funeral. Early in April we find him at a country residence, not far from Rome¹, whence he writes to Atticus, describing a visit he had paid to Matius, one of the late Emperor's most trusted friends.† Gloomy were the truths he had to learn from this man's lips: "That the condition of Rome is utterly desperate; that no way remains of extricating it from its miseries, for if Cæsar's mighty genius could devise no remedy, who else shall discover one!" At the time, Cicero thought these expressions too strong; but in the course of the next few weeks, as the schemes of Antonius developed themselves, he found more and more reason to concur in the opinion of Matius. Soon after the above conversation, he writes to his friend: "What grieves me is that with the recovery of Liberty, there is no appearance of our getting back the Commonwealth. It was never thus in any other State." And again: "Alas! I fear that the Ides of March have brought us nothing more than the momentary gratification of our hatred and our vengeance."²

² *Epp.* 682 ;
691.; comp.
701. (*Att.*
xiv. 4. 12.
18.)

* *Ep.* 677. (*Div.* vi. 15.) This letter does not contradict the supposition that Cicero was present at Cæsar's assassination. As soon as the deed was done he fled, with the other senators, from the Curia. He now seeks for more certain information respecting the issue and the plans of the conspirators, with which he was unacquainted. This note to Basilus looks as if it were intended to be sent from house to house. Basilus is mentioned among the conspirators by Appian, *Bell. Civ.* ii. 113.

† *Ep.* 680. (*Att.* xiv. 2.) is written in answer to one from Atticus, in which he described the applause with which the populace greeted Brutus and Cassius in the Theatre. This must have been at the Megalesia, the festival of the great Mother of the Gods, which was celebrated on the 4th or 5th of April, at which time the conspirators were still in Rome. On the 12th of that month Cicero mentions an interview between them and Antonius as if it had just taken place. *Ep.* 684. (*Att.* xiv. 6.)

And now he thought with regret of the fault that had been committed by Brutus in not putting Antonius to death at the same time with Cæsar¹; of the neglect with which his own advice had been treated, of assembling the Senate in the Capitol on the very day of the murder; and of the warning words of Atticus, that all would be lost if once a public funeral were permitted.² He called to mind the meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Tellus, while a guard of Cæsar's veterans kept watch around it; and the apparently desperate situation of the conspirators, who were unable at that most important juncture to sustain their cause either by money or by military force.³ Of what avail were the demonstrations of joy, with which the various Municipalities received the news of the Tyrant's death⁴, or the acclamations which greeted Brutus and Cassius at the Festival of the Megalesia? Cicero now felt what might indeed have occurred to all observing persons: "The deed has been executed with the courage of men, but the plan was only worthy of children."⁵

¹ *Phil.* ii. 14.² *Ep.* 689. (*Att.* xiv. 10.)³ *Epp.* 693, 2.; 682. (*Att.* xiv. 14. 2.)⁴ *Ep.* 684. (*Att.* xiv. 6.)⁵ *Ep.* 704. (*Att.* xiv. 25.)⁶ *Ep.* 685. (*Div.* xi. 1.)

A letter written from Rome by Decimus to M. Brutus and Cassius, shows clearly enough the embarrassed position in which the heads of the conspirators found themselves.⁶ Decimus's first thought was to retire into voluntary exile, but as soon as the Senate's decree passed, confirming Cæsar's dispositions, he changed his mind, and proceeded to take the command of the three legions destined for Cisalpine Gaul, and to possess himself of the government of that province, upon which Antonius seemed already to be turning his eyes.* C. Trebonius was forced to take a

* *Ad Att.* xiv. 13.; *Ad Div.* xi. 1. Cæsar seems to have assigned the *Transalpine* Gaul to D. Brutus, as having been Prætor, and at the same time to have named him Consul for some future year. Velleius calls him *Consulem designatum*, ii. 58. 60.

circuitous route, in order to reach his province of Asia in safety. Tillius Cimber repaired to Bithynia, the province allotted him.¹ Of Marcus Brutus, Cæsar had once said: “It is of great consequence what this man sets his mind upon: when once he wills a thing, he wills it in good earnest.”² This indeed was true of Brutus as regarded feeling and temper, rather than energy in action, or practical sagacity. At the present moment the duties of the Prætorship detained him and Cassius in Rome. They endeavoured to secure Cæsar’s veterans³, but Antonius had more effectual means at his command. The Consul persevered in his plan of dissimulation. There was a certain Amatius, a farrier by profession, who called himself a grandson of Marius, and had applied to Cicero the year before, begging him to befriend him on the ground of their mutual relationship.⁴ This man had since made a figure in the riots which took place at Cæsar’s funeral, and had set up an altar on the spot where his body was consumed. He now gave out that it was his purpose to assassinate Brutus and Cassius, in revenge for the death of his relation the Dictator. For this announcement, notwithstanding a commotion of the populace in his favour, Antonius caused him to be executed.⁵ Brutus expressed his approbation of the Consul’s act. A conversation he had had with him shortly before, would seem to have already increased his confidence in him.⁶ Antonius also proposed to recall Sextus Pompeius and give him the command of the naval force of the State. The Senate readily acceded; and Cicero applauded him thereupon. At the suggestion of the same wily adviser, the Dictatorship was declared for ever abolished.⁷ But all this was only to conceal his real intentions.* The Senate, completely

¹ *Ep.* 689.
(*Att.* xiv.
10.); Appian,
B. C. iii. 2.

² *Ep.* 679.
(*Att.* xiv. 1.)

³ Appian,
B. C. iii. 2.

⁴ *Ep.* 578. 1.
(*Att.* xii. 49.)

⁵ *Epp.* 684.;
686. (*Att.*
xiv. 6. 7.);
Appian, *B. C.*
iii. 3.

⁶ *Epp.* 684.;
687. (*Att.*
xiv. 6. 8.)

⁷ *Phil.* v. 4.;
Liv. Epit.
cxvi.

* See the admirable speech of Antonius to the veterans, in Appian iii. 5., which contains, however, some errors.

deceived as to his views, granted him for the defence of his person against the disaffected populace, a body-guard, which soon amounted to six thousand men, mostly veteran centurions of Cæsar's school. This was exactly what he wanted. Then his brothers Caius and Lucius were chosen, the one Prætor, the other Tribune. Next, having gained over Faberius, Cæsar's private secretary¹, he proceeded on his own responsibility to make sundry additions to those provisions of the late Emperor which had received the sanction of the Senate, and professing to carry out his yet unfulfilled intentions, caused several new members to be received into that body. Having possessed himself of the treasure accumulated by Cæsar, he now employed it in securing more partizans to his interests.² He projected a new and dangerous agrarian law; granted the right of appeal to the people even in the case of a criminal seized in open act; and brought subordinate officers into the decuries of the judges. Cæsar had granted the Latin franchise (*Latinitas*) to the Sicilians; a step which appeared highly objectionable to Cicero, notwithstanding the partiality he entertained for those provincials. But now Antonius having accepted a valuable present from them, posted on the Capitol a law purporting to have emanated from the late Emperor, but of which nobody had ever heard before, bestowing upon them the right of Roman citizenship. Another circumstance, repugnant to the feelings of all honest men, was the recovery by Deiotarus of the territory of which he had been deprived by Cæsar; a result accomplished by the most shameless bribery, of which Fulvia, wife of Antonius, was the channel.*

¹ *Ep.* 701. (*Att.* xiv. 18.); Appian, B. C. iii. 5.

² *Epp.* 692, 2.; 693, 2. (*Att.* xiv. 13. 14.); comp. *Phil.* i. 7. 2.; ii. 14. 37. 42.

* *Ep.* 691. (*Att.* xiv. 12.); *Phil.* ii. 36, 37. Cæsar had taken Lesser Armenia from Deiotarus, who endeavoured to regain possession of it

Amidst schemes and intrigues like these, Brutus and Cassius perceived that Rome was no place of security for them. They had not ventured to leave the city as yet, on account of the office they held. But no obstacle was now opposed to them, when they withdrew as far as Antium and Lanuvium, there to await the course of events in the city.* Antonius did more: he procured a decree of the Senate releasing them from the official necessity of remaining within the walls. Their chief reliance, in case of an open contest, rested upon Decimus, and they entered into secret negotiations with Trebonius and Cimber for the levy of money and troops. For a while they remained, hesitating and uncertain, in the neighbourhood of Rome; but were indignant on receiving a commission to supply the metropolis with provisions, conferred on them by the Senate, possibly with the view of giving them a decent pretext for leaving the capital where they were no longer safe, but undoubtedly brought about partly by the agency of Antonius. For this purpose Brutus was to go to Crete, Cassius to Cyrene.† They remained, however, in Italy until the autumn.

Under these circumstances, Cicero regretted that he had not exerted himself to procure a *legatio libera* from the Senate.¹ He had felt a disinclination to absent himself from public affairs in the present critical juncture, hoping still to find some means of saving the State. But

¹ *Ep.* 683.
(*Ad Att.* xiv.
5.)

through the intervention of his envoys at Rome; but the negotiation was interrupted by Cæsar's assassination. Fulvia, Antonius' wife, was daughter of the freedman Bambalio.

* Cicero had heard that Brutus was seen at Lanuvium about the middle of April. *Ep.* 686. (*Att.* xiv. 7.); *Phil.* ii. 13.

† Appian, *B. C.* iii. 6. 8. This decree was issued in the beginning of June, as we learn from *Ep.* 721. (*Att.* xv. 9.) As to the distribution of the provinces I have followed Appian, for Cicero's letter contains no precise information respecting it.

hat now remained in his power? Whatever hopes he had ventured to entertain were before long undeceived. Look at our public authorities," he writes to Atticus, on the 11th of April, "if they indeed deserve to be called . . . See the satellites of the Tyrant filling our offices; see his army, his veterans, marshalled in attendance on our chief rulers. I foresee the conflagration which all this will one day kindle.¹ . . . What is baser than to maintain the very same system for which we hated Cæsar? The very same Consuls and Tribunes whom he chose are retained in office for two years." And hence he came to the conclusion: "I find no point from whence I may direct my energies for the public good."² Accordingly he betook himself to some of his more distant estates, and entertained the idea of a journey to Greece, his parental affection being an additional inducement to him to visit that country.³ In the months of April and May, while Antonius was making a tour through Southern Italy for the purpose of securing the adhesion of Cæsar's veterans, we find Cicero at his Tusculan villa, and also in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium, Fundi, Formiæ, Sinuessa, Puteoli, Pompeii, Naples, and other cities. In regions such as these nature spread before him all her charms, and Atticus it appears counselled him to yield himself up to her delightful influences. But he did not possess that tranquillity of mind which is indispensable to the enjoyment of such scenes. To his friend's question, whether he would prefer more hills and distant prospects, or a voyage by sea (he was then at Puteoli), he replied:

. . . Ἀλλ' οὐ δαιτὸς ἐπηράτου ἔργα μέμηλεν.

Ἄλλὰ λήην μέγα πῆμα, διοτρεφές, εἰσορόωντες

Δείδιμεν · ἐν δοιῇ δὲ σαωσέμεν, ἢ ἀπολέσθαι.⁴

⁴ *Iliad*, ix. 228—230.

His greatest anxiety arose from the apprehension of a

civil war; for there appeared small probability that Sextus Pompeius would lay down his arms. "What I shall do in that case I know not," he writes in the same letter; "for neither on the one side nor the other shall I be allowed the same freedom of action that was granted me in Cæsar's wars. Wherever these rascals can discover a man who has expressed joy at his death,—and this we have all of us done in the open light of day,—they will regard him as an enemy, and not be satisfied without his blood. It remains for me, then, either to betake myself to the camp of Sextus, or, should circumstances render it more advisable, to that of Brutus,—an odious alternative, by no means suitable to my years, and the less so as the issue of the war is so uncertain. It seems to me that you and I may say to each other:

Οὐ τοι τέκνον ἐμὸν, δέδοται πολεμήϊα ἔργα,
'Αλλὰ σύ γ' ἱμερόεντα μετέρχαιο ἔργα λόγιοι.*

But all this accident will determine; which, in such matters, is a more efficient umpire than reason and reflection."¹

¹ *Ep.* 692, 1.
(*Att.* xiv. 13.)

Besides the comfort afforded him by the recollection of the Ides of March and by his correspondence with Brutus and Cassius, he found solace at this time in the philosophical studies so congenial to his nature. To the above outpourings of his heart he adds the words: "I will endeavour to acquire that strength which it must rest with ourselves to possess; the strength to comport ourselves wisely and steadfastly, remembering that we are *men* on whom these reverses have fallen. Then will we fly to letters, which will be powerful to console us, and the remembrance of the Ides of March will afford us no

* *Iliad*, v. 428. 9. Cicero changed the words, in the last verse, ἔργα γάμοις into ἔργα λόγιοι.

small comfort." Accordingly, it was at this time probably that he wrote one of his most pleasing works, the "*Cato*" or "*De Senectute*," which he mentions in a letter of May 11.¹ He appears also to have employed himself on the composition of the history of his own times, which unfortunately has not come down to us.*² He was cheered by letters from his son at Athens; but his pleasure on his account soon gave place to anxiety.³ His relations with his brother had changed again, as we gather from the manner in which he speaks of him, but were still far from cordial. Quintus had been separated from Pomponia, and was highly mortified at this time with the conduct of his son, who having at first behaved very undutifully to his mother, now espoused her cause against him, and declared himself a warm partizan of Antonius, as he had already been of Cæsar.⁴ Greatly to Cicero's annoyance, he appeared crowned with a garland at the festival of the Parilia, which had acquired increased importance in connexion with Cæsar, openly declaring that he had placed it on his head in honour of the late Dictator, and now laid it aside in token of sorrow for his death; willingly would he bear "the reproach of still loving the murdered man."†⁵ Yet more grievous was it to Cicero to have to designate the youth as Antonius's right hand.⁶ His animated correspondence

¹ *Ep.* 704.
(*Att.* xiv. 21.)

² *Ep.* 698.
(*Att.* xiv. 19.)

³ *Epp.* 686.;
697. (*Att.*
xiv. 7. 16.)

⁴ *Epp.* 692, 2.;
689.; 698.
(*Att.* xiv. 13.
10. 17.)

⁵ *Epp.* 693, 1.;
700. (*Att.* xiv.
14. 19.)

⁶ *Ep.* 703, 3.
(*Att.* xiv. 20.)

* It has been assumed that Cicero's son published this work, entitled '*Ἀνέκδοτα*, after his father's death; but it is hardly probable that he would have ventured to do so in defiance of Octavius. It appears, from the letter just referred to, that Cicero was occupied with another yet more secret work, perhaps the '*Ἡρακλείδιον*. See below.

† The Parilia, or Palilia, the festival of Pales and of the foundation of Rome, were celebrated on the 21st April. In the foregoing year, the intelligence of Cæsar's victory at Munda arrived on the eve of that day, and thus the recollection of the conqueror was now connected with the feast.

¹ *Ep.* 695.
(*Div.* xvi.
23.)

with Atticus was one of his chief sources of consolation, but Atticus had his own anxieties and apprehensions, and did not wish to compromise himself with any party in the State.¹ Cicero, therefore, had to summon all his philosophy to his aid to carry him through the troubles of the times.

² *Ep.* 681.
(*Att.* xiv. 3.)

³ *Ep.* 683.[†]
(*Att.* xiv. 5.)

⁴ *Epp.* 684.;
689. (*Att.*
xiv. 6. 10.)

⁵ *Phil.* ii. 40.

⁶ *Ep.* 686.
(*Att.* xiv. 7.)

⁷ *Ep.* 692. a.
(*Att.* xiv. 13.)

Antonius's real designs, which the conspirators were not long in penetrating, became gradually evident to Cicero likewise; in fact it was not easy to keep them concealed under the profession with which the Consul set out, of acting only in strict conformity with the duties and prerogatives of his office. Early in April Cicero wrote to Atticus: "Try to discover Antonius's thoughts. I believe he troubles himself more about banquets than about matters of dangerous import."² But only two days later he complains of the tumults excited by the "dice player."³ He found causes of disquiet in the military force of the tyrant, in the unbridled licentiousness of himself and his associates, in the bad use he made of Cæsar's treasure and ordinances, and the spectacle of inconsiderable men and Cæsarian soldiers still in possession of the property lawfully belonging to members of the Pompeian faction, with which the Dictator had endowed them.⁴ He might fear too for his own friends under the present order of things; for Antonius had already confiscated some property belonging to Varro.⁵ Nor could the meeting between Antonius and the two leaders of the conspiracy, which was mainly intended to lull the latter into security, long deceive him.⁶ But what most irritated him was a letter from Antonius in April, requesting him not to make any objection to the recall of Sextius Clodius.*⁷ He easily saw through the profes-

* A brother of the notorious Tribune Clodius, who had been banished on account of the tumults which took place after Milo's murder, and

sions of friendship with which the petition was accompanied, yet he felt powerless to refuse his assent to a measure which in fact the Consul would have carried through whether he approved it or not. Again, Cæsar's name was borrowed to give authority to the transaction. "Antonius has written to me," Cicero informs his friend, "in honourable terms as relates to myself; but with so total a disregard of what is right or befitting, that at times one could almost wish Cæsar back again. For his papers are tampered with, and then we are told he that left injunctions in his will about measures to which in reality he would never have consented."¹ Antonius and Cæsar! there was indeed a vast difference in the import of these two names; a difference to which Cicero himself was not insensible. Under the sway of the former even freedom of speech now seemed fettered; the very thought of him roused feelings of indignation in Cicero's breast: and in such a moment it was that he paid this well-merited tribute to the shade of the murdered Dictator: "I believe that I could speak against that accursed faction with less danger to myself whilst the Tyrant lived than now that he no longer exists. For Cæsar, I know not how, treated me with great forbearance. But now, turn where we may, we are rebuffed, not only by Cæsar's acts, but by his very thoughts."²

¹ *Ep.* 692, 2.
comp. 693, 2.
(*Att.* xiv. 13.
xiv. 14.)

² *Ep.* 698.
(*Att.* xiv. 17.)

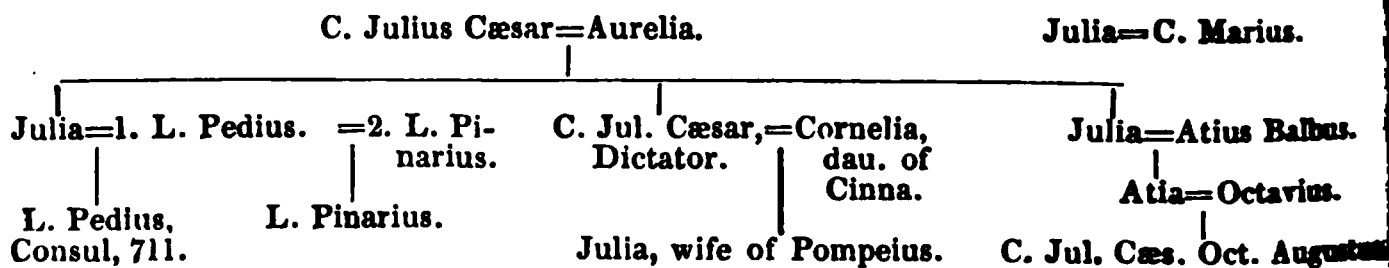
Notwithstanding all this, he indulged in the vain hope of maintaining his good understanding with Antonius,

whom Antonius, who was connected with him through Fulvia, now hoped to employ for his own purposes. It may be easily conceived how much this proceeding must have wounded Cicero. We possess the letter of Antonius (692. *a.*) and Cicero's reply (692. *b.*). This last is highly remarkable, as showing how easily Cicero could assume an appearance of cordiality against his real feelings. He dared not complain when Antonius at a later period made use of this letter, as we find in the second Philippic.

which, based on an acquaintance of many years' standing, had never yet been openly interrupted.¹ He purposed to appear in the Senate on the 1st of June², when the Consul was to present a general scheme for the government of the Republic, and for that of the provinces in particular.

Meanwhile a youth had made his entrance on the stage, whose first appearance showed that he was destined to play a chief part in the great drama. This was Octavius*, the grandson of a sister of Cæsar, by whom he had been adopted and made heir to three-fourths of his property.³ Octavius had been with his uncle the preceding year, subsequently to the battle of Munda; and afterwards resided at Apollonia in Epirus, applying himself to the completion of his studies, more especially oratory and the art of war. Here he awaited the arrival of Cæsar, intending to accompany him on the Parthian expedition. He was now in his nineteenth year, having been born in Cicero's Consulate. At the news of Cæsar's death he quitted Apollonia and his studies, and was already in Italy on the 11th of April. He reached Naples on the 18th, and announced that he had come to claim the Dictator's inheritance.⁴ At Puteoli he had an interview with Cicero, and testified the utmost respect and devotion

* The subjoined table will show at a glance the relationship between Cæsar and Octavius :



Atia married, secondly, Philippus, of whom mention is frequently made in Cicero's letters. The father of the Dictator had a brother, L. Julius Cæsar, whose daughter Julia married M. Antonius Creticus. The Triumvir M. Antonius was the only son of this marriage.

to the experienced statesman.¹ But Cicero did not like ^{1 Epp. 690.; 691. (Att. xiv. 11. 12.)} to hear him called Cæsar by his adherents; for he was surrounded by many who threatened death to the perpetrators of the late deed. The young man seemed disposed to act with too much precipitation; so that his mother, whom he visited at the estate of her second husband Philippus near Puteoli, urged him to conduct himself with moderation and duplicity. But he appeared confident in his own position. Many soldiers, including some of Cæsar's veterans, joined him, and pressed him to take into his own hands the execution of the vengeance so long delayed by Antonius. At Terracina, on his way to Rome, he heard of the alterations that had been made in the Dictator's provincial arrangements, of the honourable recall of Sextus Pompeius, and of the other arbitrary measures adopted by Antonius.² All these were so many ^{2 Appian, B. C. iii. 10. foll.} spurs to his impatience. Before the end of April he was in Rome; Antonius being then absent in Campania. He went instantly to the Consul's brother, the Prætor, and told him he had come to claim his inheritance: he then caused L. Antonius, the Tribune, to present him to the people.³ As soon as the Consul himself returned he went ^{3 Ep. 703, 3. (Att. xiv. 20.)} to him, and upbraided him with his delay in exacting vengeance for the late deed, at the same time demanding Cæsar's treasure and the confirmation in due form of the act of his adoption. The young man's audacity was far from agreeable to Antonius, so greatly his superior in age; and his demand of the treasure placed him in the utmost embarrassment. He replied, in an angry and scornful tone, that Cæsar's treasure appertained to the State, and had been applied to its service. The truth was, however, that he had made use of it to pay his own debts and those of his colleague Dolabella, and to secure partizans to his own interests.⁴ The ratification of the ^{4 Phil. ii. 37.}

act of adoption he did his best to hinder by delays. And thus Antonius and Octavius found themselves placed in a position of mutual hostility.

Antonius had been making a tour through Southern Italy for the purpose of gaining over Cæsar's veterans: he had left Dolabella in Rome, being secure of his fidelity. Octavius sold his own patrimony and made use of the property of his mother and step-father, in order to pay the people Cæsar's legacy; for Antonius pertinaciously withheld the repayment he claimed; and so far did he now belie his former professions of desiring to see all Cæsar's dispositions ratified, that he even set on foot an inquiry into the legality of his acquisitions.¹ The favour of the people, however, was won by Octavius, and his claims to his uncle's inheritance were declared valid. This was particularly manifested at the celebration of the games which Cæsar had vowed in honour of "*Venus Genitrix*," and which now Octavius solemnized in his stead², and afterwards during the magnificent spectacles given by the Prætor C. Antonius in the name of his absent colleague Brutus.* And now the downfall of the conspirators in the popular favour was complete; while Octavius on the other hand continued to gain room for the execution of his vast and daring projects; leading the Optimates to believe, by his dexterous policy, that he belonged to their party, and causing Cicero to express satisfaction in his devotedness.³ Antonius, who returned to Rome probably about the middle of May, had however still some friends in the Senate, and by their means he succeeded in obtaining his own appointment to the province of Macedonia, with the command of the

¹ Appian, *Bell. Civ.* lii. 20.

² *Ep.* 708. (*Att.* xv. 2.); *Suet. Oct.* 10.

³ *Plut. Cic.*

* These were the Apollinarian games, which commenced on the 5th July. *Comp. Ep.* 723. (*Att.* xv. 11.) It was during the celebration of the games held in honour of *Venus Genitrix* that the comet appeared which was supposed to announce the deification of Cæsar.

legions quartered there, which had been originally destined for the Parthian war.*¹ He had previously procured from the people Dolabella's appointment to Syria, with the conduct of that enterprise. The legions which Antonius withdrew from that service he got Dolabella to grant him, on the plea that Syria was not threatened with invasion. His real object was to employ them in the Cisalpine, for which he meant to exchange Macedonia with Decimus Brutus. The Senate objected to the exchange; but he gained his point by applying to the people.† He had long intended to act as Cæsar had done before him, in making Gaul the basis from which to conduct his operations for the attainment of supreme dominion.²

¹ *Epp.* 713.; 708.; 710. (*Div.* xi. 2.; *Att.* xv. 2. 4.); Appian, *B. C.* iii. 7.

² *Epp.* 685.; 693, 2. (*Div.* xi. 1.; *Att.* xiv. 14.)

Cicero did not make his appearance in the Senate on the 1st of June, though he had repaired to his residence at Tusculum in the full intention of proceeding thither. He received warnings from his friends and from Hirtius likewise to absent himself, and was informed that armed men had been despatched on the road to Tusculum to secure his person.³ He was unwilling besides to see Antonius; for bitter was the feeling with which he wrote: "I have resolved to keep at a distance from the city, where I not only once enjoyed the highest honours, but retained some dignity even in my slavery." He had continued to maintain amicable relations with Cæsar's friends, though without giving them his confidence⁴; while they, like their great leader, had good reason for desiring to count so distinguished a man as one of their party. We find him giving

³ *Epp.* 717.; 718. (*Att.* xv. 5. 8.)

⁴ *Epp.* 688.; 690.; 704. (*Att.* xiv. 9. 11. 21.)

* Cassius was to receive the province of Cyrene as a compensation for Syria, and Brutus Crete instead of Macedonia, which had been already assigned to Dolabella, on the 17th May, as we learn from *Ep.* 688. (*Att.* xiv. 9.)

† The refusal of the Senate took place probably on the 1st of June. *Ep.* 693, 2.

instructions in the art of rhetoric to Hirtius and Pansa the Consuls elect for the ensuing year.¹ The hatred they entertained for Antonius led him at one time to form some hopes of gaining them to the interests of the Republic; but he was soon forced to confess the groundlessness of such a project.² He may possibly, however, have thought of securing himself a refuge in their protection in case of the total annihilation of his political visions. His next step was to apply by letter to Antonius for a *legatio libera*; and he was greatly pleased when Dolabella, who was preparing for his departure to Syria and the war against the Parthians, appointed him his legate.³ This gave him liberty to leave Italy, without imposing on him any duties beyond what his taste or convenience might incline him to undertake.

His political hopes were in fact already at a low ebb. Once again they had been somewhat raised, when Dolabella in the absence of Antonius destroyed the altar and column erected to Cæsar's memory by Amatius and his crew, and caused the ringleaders to be put to death.⁴ For this act of justice Cicero greeted his son-in-law as a "second Brutus;" and L. Cæsar, the uncle of Antonius, congratulating him on the event, said that Dolabella "was the only Consul worthy of the name since the man who had put down Catilina."⁵ Yet this very Dolabella was soon won over by the bribes of his colleague to give himself up unreservedly to his service.[†]⁶ And as for Antonius, the

¹ *Ep.* 691.
(*Att.* xiv. 12.)

² *Epp.* 704.;
717. (*Att.* xiv.
21.; xv. 5.)

³ *Ep.* 723.
(*Att.* xv. 11.)

⁴ *Epp.* 696.;
697.; 711, 1.
(*Att.* xiv. 15.
16.; *Div.* xii.
1.); *Phil.* i. 2.
12.; Appian,
B. C. iii. 3.

⁵ *Ep.* 699.
(*Div.* ix. 14.)

⁶ *Ep.* 775, 1.
(*Att.* xvi. 15.)

* According to Appian, Dolabella even proposed in the Senate that the Ides of March should be declared to be the day which saved the country.

† It is curious to see, in the midst of the extravagant praise which Cicero heaps upon Dolabella and the joy he really experienced at his change of parties, that he cannot refrain in his confidential letters to Atticus from sarcastic hints at his delay in restoring Tullia's marriage portion. *Epp.* 700. 701. 702.

measures he proposed and carried through in the Senate on the 1st of June only served yet more to incense Cicero against him.¹ All Cicero's hopes now centered in Brutus and Cassius; yet even his confidence in them was not unshaken, as appears from the following words in a letter to Cassius, written probably about the end of May: You have done better service to the State than I could have ventured to hope: but she is not yet satisfied. She measures the demands she has yet to make upon you by the greatness of your mind, and of the deed you have wrought. Hitherto, all she has gained by the murder of the Tyrant is vengeance for her injuries. What has she yet recovered of her former glories? Or shall we indeed account it one of her glories that she obeys him dead, whom living she could not brook? that she receives his written memoranda as laws, whose formal edicts she ought to have cancelled."²

¹ *Phil.* ii. 42.
² *Ep.* 711.
(*Div.* xii. l.)

* It is difficult to trace the sequence of the events which followed Cæsar's death in the authors who have described them. I set down here the circumstances mentioned in Cicero's letters with the true or probable date of the documents themselves. As most of the letters are addressed to Atticus, and are immediate replies to his advices from Rome, we may conclude that they refer to events which had only just occurred. These dates, then, may be taken as nearly the earliest assignable to each. The date of some events is stated with precision.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|----------|-----------------|
| Cicero journeys from Astura | - | - | - | April 11 | <i>Ep.</i> 683. |
| Arrival of Octavius in Italy | - | - | - | „ 11 | |
| Conference of Antonius with Brutus and Cassius, probably in Rome | - | - | - | „ 12 | „ 684. |
| Cicero at Fundi | - | - | - | „ 12 | |
| Brutus at Lanuvium | - | - | - | „ 15 | „ 686. |
| Cicero at his Puteolanum | - | - | - | „ 16 | |
| Brutus satisfied with the act of Antonius in putting the pseudo-Marius to death | - | - | - | „ 18 | „ 687. |
| Lepidus in the Further Gaul | - | - | - | „ 18 | |
| Dolabella appointed to Syria | - | - | - | „ 19 | „ 688. |
| Octavius at Naples | - | - | - | „ 18 | „ 689. |

Meanwhile Brutus and Cassius lingered in the neighbourhood of Lanuvium and Antium, with feelings embittered by the disrespectful and arbitrary manner in which they had been treated. When Dolabella overthrew the altar erected by the demagogues, as before mentioned, Cicero indulged the confident hope that the moment had come when they might effect something for their cause in Rome¹, and they proposed to appear there on the 1st of June and show themselves to the people from the Rostrum. But on hearing that Antonius was assembling

¹ *Ep.* 697.
(*Att.* xiv. 16.)

| | | | |
|--|-----------|----------|-----------------|
| Trebonius repairs to his province | - - | April 19 | |
| Octavius with Cicero; Balbus, also Hirtius and Pansa | - - - - - | „ 20 | <i>Ep.</i> 690. |
| The Sicilians have received the franchise | - | „ 22 | „ 691. |
| Decimus Brutus with his legions in the Cisalpine | - - - - - | „ 26 | „ 692. |
| Rehabilitation of Sextius Clodius | - - | „ 26 | |
| Cicero is convinced that Sex. Pompeius will remain under arms | - - - - - | „ 26 | |
| Further spoliation of the Temple of Ops | - | „ 27 | „ 693. |
| Antonius applies for the Cisalpine | - - | „ 27 | |
| Octavius in Rome | - - - - - | „ 27 | |
| Dolabella overthrows the column in honour of Cæsar | - - - - - | May 1 | „ 696. |
| Cicero at his Pompeianum | - - - | „ 3 | „ 698. |
| Antonius at Capua, on his journey into the south of Italy | - - - - - | „ 3 | |
| M. Brutus meditates voluntary exile | - - | „ 7 | „ 700. |
| Antonius at Misenum | - - - - - | „ 11 | „ 703. |
| Antonius arms some of Cæsar's veterans | - | „ 11 | „ 704. |
| Games exhibited by Octavius | - - - | „ 18 | „ 708. |
| Trebonius at Athens | - - - - - | „ 22 | „ 714. |
| Octavius successful in his appeals | - - | „ 23 | „ 710. |
| Cicero at his Tusculanum | - - - - - | „ 27 | „ 718. |
| Remarkable meeting of the Senate under the presidency of Antonius (<i>Phil.</i> ii. 42., i. 2.) | | June 1 | „ 719. |
| Cicero's interview with Brutus and Cassius at Antium | - - - - - | „ 8 | „ 723. |
| Brutus meditates going to Asia | - - - | „ 10 | „ 724. |

many of the veterans round his person, and had appointed others to be in Rome on that day, they became frightened, and wrote to him to ask whether he could ensure their safety. This address¹ while it bears witness to their great apprehensions, shows their folly in complying with the advice Antonius gave them in reply, and discharging the followers who might have proved a defence to them.

At the meeting of the Senate on the day above-mentioned, the Consuls elect did not venture to appear; the well-disposed portion of the aristocracy kept aloof from the city; and the measures that were passed were carried more by the agency of the people than of the Senate. The veterans proved the most effective instruments for giving the weight of authority to the Consul's enactments; and he found himself in a position which enabled him to execute, alter, or reverse Cæsar's decrees just as he chose.² ^{*Ep. 713. (Div. xi. 2.)*}

On the 8th of June Cicero went from Tusculum to visit Brutus and Cassius at Antium. He found them extremely angry at the edict of the 5th, by which they were charged with the commission of supplying the city with corn. Cicero also expressed his indignation at it.³ ^{*Phil. i. 2.; ii. 42.*}

He found with them Portia the daughter of Cato and wife of Brutus,³ ^{*Ep. 721.; 722.; 723. (Att. xv. 9. 10. 11.)*}

Tertulla sister to Brutus, married to Cassius, and Servilia mother of Brutus and half-sister of Cato*; the ardent Republican Favonius was also present. Cicero advised them to submit to the odious decree. He saw that totally

* Servilia had been Cæsar's mistress long before, and it was even supposed that Brutus was his son. Cæsar made her rich presents, and bestowed on her some of the confiscated goods of the Pompeians and of the Tribune Pontius Aquila. *Ep. 704. (Ad Att. xiv. 21.); Suet. Jul. 78.* We learn from *Ad Att. xv. 11.* the influence which she possessed over the Cæsarians, and the suspicion with which Cicero regarded her. [These scandalous stories will hardly bear sifting. Servilia was probably older than Cæsar, and must have been between sixty and seventy at the time when he is said to have shown her such favour. Brutus was only fifteen years his junior.]

unprepared as they were for any important enterprise, thought at present to think only of their personal safety; the salvation of the Republic depended upon it. But he could not persuade them. Cassius, who was the more vehement, wished to go to Achaia, where many of the Pompeian faction had betaken themselves. Brutus, full of confidence in the justice of his cause, was for proceeding to Rome, where the old Republic could still reckon upon some adherents among the populace. Cicero employed his eloquence to dissuade him from such a step: it was, he said, to rush upon certain ruin. Brutus was obstinate, and it must be allowed, that what with the excitable passions of the conspirators, their gross negligence of all ordinary precautions, and his own want of consistency, Cicero had at this time no easy part to play: but his business was to advise for the future; and therefore it was hardly becoming in him so dwell as he did on the recollection of all that ought to have been done on the Ides of March, however true such considerations might be. Servilia at length engaged to contrive that the charge of the supplies should be expunged from the decree, so that Cassius might be enabled to leave Italy at once, as he desired, and go to the province already assigned him. It was not difficult at this to make Brutus abandon his rash project; he proposed to remain where he was, whilst the games which he was bound to give in his quality of Prætor should be celebrated in Rome by deputy, and after they were over he would set out for Asia. "Apart from this personal affection and duty," writes Cicero to his friend, in relating the above transactions, "I cannot help assisting myself

‘*Ἡ δεῦρ’ ὁδός σοι τί δύναται νῦν, θεοπρόπε;*’*

* This, according to Valckenaer, is a verse of Sophocles. *Diatr. ad Fragm.* p. 192.

found the vessel altogether unsound, or I might say
ally shattered: no plan, no rational deliberation, no
mod of any kind. I am therefore the more firmly
aved as soon as possible to take my flight from hence
re,

‘*Neque Pelopidarum facta, neque famam audiam.*’¹ ¹ *Ep. 723.*
(*Att. xv. 11.*)

ce it appears that all he had effected by his interven-
was to prevent Brutus from rushing headlong on his
destruction. The chief of the conspiracy remained
efore, utterly inactive², and shortly after the meeting² *Ep. 724.*
re described, he writes to Atticus: “When I saw (*Att. xv. 12.*)
ly at Lanuvium, just as you do, that our friends had
just so much hope of their lives as Antonius chose
allow them, I gave up the cause for lost. Now listen
ny words uttered with calm deliberation: the death
ch our enemies design for us is in my estimation an
ominious fate, and the more so as it is dictated to us
Antonius. This impending misery then I am resolved
ly from, not through fear of death itself, but because
ope to encounter death some day in a worthier shape.
s is all the fault of Brutus:”³ and in an earlier letter³ *Ep. 731.*
observes: “He (Brutus) has taken more pains to secure (*Att. xv. 20.*)
immortality of his own name than our welfare.”⁴ ⁴ *Ep. 706.*
t is obvious that the cherished vision of Cicero’s mind (*Att. xv. 1.*)
been the reversal of all the late Dictator’s obnoxious
rees, and the reestablishment of the Republic in the
e condition precisely as during his own Consulate and
period immediately following. Never had his imagi-
ion been more active than on the Ides of March. The
es he then indulged in at another time he would have
nounced impossibilities; for the next hour after the
rder gave plain proof that no scheme of political re-

volution had been previously concerted by the conspirators, and from the fact of their instantly calling out Cicero's name, it would seem that they relied entirely upon him for the restoration of the ancient government. But all for an instant the practicability of such a restoration was very evident from the general tenour of his life, especially after his exile, that Cicero was not calculated to be the instrument. To overthrow Antonius in the full career of his ambition, together with Dolabella, his creature and ally, or to induce them of their own will to lay down the Consular authority; to purge a Senate chiefly consisting of Cæsar's partizans; to hold the veterans in check and at the same time satisfy their demands; to kindle the enthusiasm of the people for a cause they had forgotten, all this was no slight or easy task. In moments of excitement impossibilities may be overlooked; but when action speedily occurs in minds of less energetic men. Already, in the assembly held in the Temple of Castor, Cicero was well pleased at finding himself able to propose an amnesty for his friends, and was fain to consent with opposition to the ratification of Cæsar's measures. After he turned his back on Rome, he begins to speak disparagingly of his beloved Brutus and Cassius, whom he at least had no right to blame; and after a few weeks passed away, we find him once more quietly occupied in the composition of philosophical treatises.

Some faint hopes, though mingled with doubt and anxiety, he still rested on the young Octavius. On the 10th of June he writes thus to Atticus: "He possesses as I have not failed to recognize, intellect and courage, and the disposition he has testified towards our hereditary constitution just what we could wish. But how far he is to be trusted, considering his immature age, his name, his inheritance, and his flatterers, is an anxious question."¹

¹ *Ep.* 724.
(*Att.* xv. 12.).

When a man no longer young finds himself circumstanced as Cicero now was, his natural habits and disposition are wont insensibly to reassume their sway. As early as the commencement of April we find him occupied in building at his Tusculan villa; at Puteoli, where he spent a great part of the spring, he gave lessons in rhetoric to Hirtius and Pansa; then again we find him recurring to the subject of the temple which he designed to dedicate to Tullia; and above all his literary pursuits continued to employ his time and thoughts.¹ His noble treatise "*De Senectute*" has been mentioned already. It was succeeded by another with the title "*De Amicitia*." He composed also the work entitled "*De Gloria*," unfortunately no longer extant, but of which he thought very highly himself.² To this period likewise we may probably refer the composition—or at all events the completion—of the work "*De Natura Deorum*," dedicated to Brutus; the treatise "*De Divinatione*," that "*De Fato*" part of which is lost, and probably the commencement of the "*De Officiis*."³

Before setting out on the journey he had so long contemplated, he had the satisfaction of seeing his nephew join the Republican party, and of presenting him in person to Brutus⁴, who was at this time at the island of Nesis near Puteoli, having continued to linger on board his vessel near the coast, after leaving Lanuvium. Cicero had quitted Tusculum at the end of June, and was now likewise in the neighbourhood of Puteoli, where he continued to reside up to the time of his departure for Greece. Parental affection had made him fix upon Athens as the object of his journey, his appointment by Dolabella* to the office of honorary legate for five years, giving him the option of residing or travelling wherever he chose.⁵ He purposed

¹ *Epp.* 681.; 691.; 727.; 726.; 732.; 736. (*Att.* xiv. 3. 12.; xv. 15. 16. 21. 14.)

² *Epp.* 744.; 750, 5. 758. (*Att.* xv. 27.; xvi. 2. 6.)

³ *De Div.* ii. 1.; *Ep.* 736. (*Att.* xv. 14.)

⁴ *Epp.* 746, 6.; 748, 2.; comp. 730. (*Att.* xvi. 5.; xv. 19.)

⁵ *Ep.* 723. (*Att.* xv. 11.)

* On the 2nd of June.

however to be in Rome again by the 1st of Jan when Hirtius and Pansa were to enter on their Cons and a favourable crisis in public affairs might be anticipated in consequence.¹

¹ *Epp.* 748.; 758. (*Att.* xvi. 5. 6.); *Phil.* i. 2.

At length, after much delay and hesitation, the day of his departure arrived, and feelings of gloom and dejection took possession of his mind. "My departure writes to Atticus, "brings with it many disquieting thoughts, especially that of leaving you. I dread too the difficulties of the voyage, which seems alike uncongenial to my age and dignity, and there is something rather perverse in choosing such a moment for it: for I quit my country in peace to return to it in a time of war *; and the more time I might so pleasantly occupy in my rich and smiling possessions, I must now spend in a distant and laborious condition. But one thing cheers me — I shall be able to be of use to my son, or at least to find out what may be best for him. And then I hope you will come to Greece as promised, and if so, everything will wear a brighter colouring."² It must be confessed that his courage and manliness were at a low ebb when he wrote this; but ere long he shall see the nobler part of his character again in the ascendant, and the lofty sentiments of his better nature accompanied by a corresponding energy of action.

² *Ep.* 754, 2. (*Att.* xvi. 3.); comp. 758. (*Att.* xvi. 6.)

His tenderness of his attachment to his friend is in itself a pleasing trait; it was duly reciprocated by Atticus, who wept when they took leave of each other at Tusculum. "Had you shed those tears in my presence," writes Cicero, "perhaps I should have given up my voyage altogether." He extended the same affectionate interest to his friend's little daughter Attica.⁴ Nor was their mutual regard

³ *Ep.* 744. (*Att.* xv. 27.)

⁴ *Epp.* 743.; 754, 2.; 758. and elsewhere. (*Att.* xv. 28.; xvi. 3. 6.)

* Cicero could not fail to apprehend war when he reflected on the bearing of Antonius towards Octavius, and on his determination to march from the Cisalpine from Decimus. *Ep.* 732. (*Att.* xv. 21.); comp. 720. (*Att.* xv. 7. 18.)

matter of sentiment. It displayed itself in works of zeal; and we observe with pleasure Cicero's indelible efforts to save the property of Atticus at Buthro which was threatened by the depredations of Cæsar's men. Many letters are occupied with this subject, being addressed to other individuals concerned in it.¹ ¹ *Epp.* 738—740.; 751—753. Cicero was equally zealous in the service of Cicero, and he took to his counsel that the latter had recourse when his private affairs became embarrassed, as seems to have been the case at the present period.² ² *Ep.* 754. 2. (*Att.* xvi. 3.); and elsewhere. Cicero had at first intended to set sail in company with Atticus, but the latter delayed his departure too long on account of the games which C. Antonius, his colleague in the Prætorship, was exhibiting in his name at Rome.³ ³ *Ep.* 748. 3. (*Att.* xvi. 5.) Cicero had frequent interviews with him, and visited him on the island of Nesis a few days only before his own departure.⁴ He found him highly pleased at the manner in which the games had been received.⁵ Loud acclamations attended the delivery of certain passages from Atticus's play of *Tereus*, expressing hatred of tyrants, and this convinced him for not having been allowed to represent the play of *Brutus* by the same author, and also for his disappointment in Cicero's absence on the occasion.*⁶ Libo, Cicero's son-in-law of Sextus Pompeius, joined them at Nesis, bringing intelligence that Sextus was ready to lay down his arms, provided his patrimony were restored to him, and that the chiefs of the Cæsarian faction would disband their troops.⁷ ⁴ *Ep.* 750. 3. (*Att.* xvi. 2.)
⁵ *Phil.* ii. 13.; comp. Plut. *Brut.* 21.
⁶ *Epp.* 748. 1.; 742. (*Att.* xvi. 5.; xv. 26.)
⁷ *Ep.* 749. 1. (*Att.* xvi. 4.) comp. Dio Cass. xlv. 10. In the matter he said was already in treaty; Lepidus had acted discreetly in this affair in concert with Antonius; for

these were the Apollinarian games, which were partly dramatic and gymnastic, and included also combats of wild beasts. The Prætor Antonius was brother of the Consul. Brutus was also hurt at the games announced for the Nones of *Julius*; the name *Quintilis* should have been used, he thought, for the other recalled the memory of Cæsar. *Epp.* 747, 1. (*Att.* xvi. 4. 1.)

to him it was of great moment that Spain, which governed conjointly with Asinius Pollio, should be commanded by the six Pompeian legions. Lepidus had a neighbouring division of Gaul likewise under his command. Asinius and Plancus, the latter of whom held the Transalpine Gaul, were yet to be gained, and that Antonius should succeed in getting possession of the province assigned to Decimus Brutus, who would be bound to oppose their schemes?

¹ *Ep.* 750, 4.
(*Att.* xvi. 2.)

² *Ep.* 757.
(*Div.* xi. 3.)

³ *Ep.* 750, 3.
(*Att.* xvi. 2.)

At Nesis, Cicero likewise met Cassius, who was with his vessels off Naples.¹ He and Brutus exhorted each other to adopt a more decided line of resistance against Antonius, and the fruits of their resolution afterwards appeared in a document they addressed to him on the 1st of August, in reply to a hostile edict and letter on his part the purpose of which was to frighten them out of Italy. But it was too late: they had already wasted five important months, which Antonius on the other hand had employed with the utmost dexterity for the furtherance of his designs. What could they venture to hope from Cassius? Or what from the people? of whom, when speaking of the applause bestowed on the Apollinarian games, Cicero complains: "Alas! that the Roman people only use their hands for public acclamations, instead of performing with them any deed for the defence of the Commonwealth!"³

And now, saddened by the spectacle of all that followed on Cæsar's assassination, by the intrigues, the party-mosities, the short-sightedness of those whose aims were purest, and the demoralization of those whose talents placed them foremost in the struggle, we turn with a feeling of relief to linger for a while amid scenes which awaken the purer sympathies of humanity. Such we find in a letter addressed by C. Matius to Cicero at the end

ay. Our pleasure, indeed, is purchased at some cost: the letter to which this is a reply forces us to acknowledge with pain that obstinate devotion to a party will too often induce men, great and honourable in every other respect, to forget all the sentiments of moderation and mercy. More especially is this the case in a Republic. Cicero had been treated by Cæsar with singular magnanimity. The reflection upon the Ides of March, which he had found so consoling amidst the first disappointments ereupon ensuing, gave way before long to a sense of vain regret for "the man who treated him with admirable kindness."¹ And now that the schemes of Antonius had gradually unfolded themselves, we find him (at the end of May) writing thus to Atticus: "Think of me as you will; things go on as they seem likely to do, the Ides of March will comfort me no longer. For, possibly he (Cæsar) could not have returned among us*; we should not have found ourselves constrained by fear to give our sanction to his ordinances; or again, favoured as I was by him, I might very well have borne him for a master in my old age, since now having got rid of him, we are not any nearer to freedom."² Yet even in this passage he cannot help uttering a bitter curse upon him†; and assuredly his heart remained unreconciled to his memory, while he

¹ *Epp.* 692.;
698. (*Att.*
xiv. 13. 17.)

² *Ep.* 710.
(*Att.* xv. 4.)

* This may be taken as referring either to the probability that Cæsar, who was in ill health at the time of his assassination, might have perished in the campaign for which he was then preparing against the Parthians; which seems a more probable supposition, Cicero intended to say that had things been conducted more prudently, and had the life of Antonius been spared, another Cæsar would not have risen in his person to act as still more pernicious foe to the Republic. [Abeken follows, apparently, Hütz's reading; *Ille enim [aut] nunquam revertisset*. But, omitting the conjectural *aut*, the meaning is, "He might never, perhaps, have returned," and can only refer to the chance of Cæsar's death in his Parthian campaign.]

† *Gratosi eramus apud illam, quem Dii mortuum perduint.*

assailed even the generous friends of the deceased with sneers and vituperation. One of these was C. Matius, a Roman knight; a man of refinement and susceptibility. He was warmly attached to Cæsar, whom he had attended in Gaul; and doubtless when there he had helped to confirm the good understanding between his leader and Cicero. Though faithful to Cæsar, he declined any active participation in the civil war, and, conducting himself with good sense and moderation, did his utmost to restore general tranquillity. Cæsar reciprocated his feelings of attachment; and Matius employed the credit he enjoyed with the chief of the State, in doing good offices to many individuals, Cicero among the number. He continued firm in his friendship to Cæsar during the period of his dominion; and how deeply he lamented his death we have already seen.¹ At that time Cicero failed to recognize the truth of his words; in writing to Atticus he even blamed and abused him.² He reproached him, moreover, for concurring in the ratification of an earlier edict of Cæsar's, which the circumstances had demanded; and above all, for promoting the public games given by Octavius in his honour.³ Matius complained of his language; and Cicero, who could not afford to forfeit so great a man's regard, wrote to him in excuse.⁴ His eminent talents and command of language were not wont to desert him on occasions like this: yet how cold and artificial does his letter sound when compared with the reply of Matius!⁵ In this we behold the merits of Cæsar set forth in attractive colours, and the whole breathes an atmosphere of pure sentiment, both delightful and refreshing. Could Cicero, who was assuredly no stranger himself to the softer emotions, read without a sense of shame the following words: "I was conscious I had done nothing which could offend the feelings of an upright man. How little then

¹ *Epp.* 172.; 312.; 514.
(*Div.* vii. 15.;
Att. ix. 11.;
Div. vi. 12.)

² *Epp.* 680.; 683. (*Att.* xiv. 2. 5.)

³ *Epp.* 708.; 716. (*Att.* xv. 2. *Div.* xi. 28.)

⁴ *Ep.* 715. (*Div.* xi. 27.)

⁵ *Ep.* 716. (*Div.* xi. 28.)

could I imagine that any one would have brought you to believe such things against me, without the slightest proof, great and various as are your mental endowments, and faithful as I have ever been in my partiality for you? It is charged upon me as a crime that I lament the death of one who was bound to me in the closest friendship; that I find it hard to bear the reflection that the man I loved has been murdered. For they say, our country ought to be more to us than any private friendship. Thus they take it for granted that Cæsar's murder was beneficial to our country. But I will be honest: I confess this is altogether a height of wisdom to which I have not attained. In the civil war I was not, properly speaking, of Cæsar's party; I did not regard his cause with favour; yet I would not abandon my friend. These dissensions and their origin I alike condemned; and I sought to stifle them in their birth. When my friend proved victorious, no temptation of honour or of wealth seduced me. On the contrary, I even suffered loss of property in consequence of one of his laws; a law which gave many the power of remaining in this State, who are now rejoicing in his death. I exerted myself in behalf of many who were in the conqueror's power, as zealously as if it had been for my own safety. Thus, the deliverance and well-being of all being the object of my desire, how can I do otherwise than grieve most deeply at the murder of him in whom all hope of the general welfare centered? And to see those very men the perpetrators of the deed, who were the subjects of general envy on account of the favours they received at his hands! 'Then you shall suffer,' they say, 'for your presumption in daring to disapprove of our exploit.' O unexampled arrogance! And shall one man then be allowed to glorify himself for a deed of violence, while another may not even grieve for it with impunity? But they can do

nothing with me. No danger nor terror shall turn me aside from the duties of friendship, or from indulging in the natural feelings of humanity. I could wish that Cæsar's death were lamented by all the world. And as for my own patriotism, if the whole course of my life hitherto, and what remains of it hereafter, do not bear witness to it, I will not attempt to prove it by any lengthened demonstration."

While acknowledging that in the correspondence which passed between Cicero and Mælius on this occasion, the latter appears in by far the most advantageous light, we must remember that Cicero stood somewhat in the position of the hero of the ancient Tragic Drama, whose destiny was to struggle against time and circumstance. And, if he erred in failing to recognize the great mission of Cæsar, was not his error human? Once he had been himself the instrument of saving the State from destruction, and had been called the Father of his Country. Let not blame then be cast upon him by any who have known what it is themselves to have embraced a political party, and fought and laboured for it with all their strength. It is true his letters to Atticus at this time exhibit no marks of enlightened statesmanship, or of the qualifications requisite in one who might have averted the ruin of the State: but he disarms us by his own words after relating the incapacity of Brutus and Cassius, and the treatment they submitted to from Antonius. "I am worn out," he says, "with sorrow."¹

¹ *Ep.* 721.
(*Att.* xv. 9.)

On the 16th or 17th of July, he set sail from his residence near Pompeii, with three small vessels. He kept along the coast as far as Rhegium, ready to land anywhere he might like. He came to shore at Velia, and visited the estate of his friend Trebatius, then absent; to whom he addressed a letter from the spot (July 20.)² This letter and another to the same written from Rhegium

² *Ep.* 755.
(*Div.* vii. 20.)

n the 28th, are in a cheerful strain. The last is accompanied by his treatise entitled *Topica*, which he had completed on the voyage.¹ It was occasioned by a former request of Trebatius, who having met with Aristotle's work so entitled in Cicero's library at Tusculum, asked for explanations on the subject. Cicero advised him to study the work itself, but Trebatius could not master it, nor did he derive any effectual assistance from a certain Rhetor to whom he had recourse. At that time Cicero was too much occupied to attend to his wishes, but promised his aid at some future period; and now in his friend's own home he bethought himself of his engagement. As he pursued his voyage to Rhegium he wrote down his observations, which form an excellent introduction to the work of the Greek philosopher. Cut off as he was from all literary assistance, and assuredly not in a state of mind favourable to sustained mental exertion, the execution of this treatise may well astonish us by the idea it conveys of the clearness of his intellect, the retentiveness of his memory, and his facility of expression.²

¹ *Ep.* 756.
(*Div.* vii. 19.)

² *Topica*, i.

Before arriving at Rhegium, he stopped again to pay a visit to another friend at Vibo. This was Sica, who had received him hospitably at the time he was quitting Italy as an exile. From hence he again wrote to Atticus, requesting him to settle some debts for him. At the same time he sends him an introduction to prefix to the treatise *De Gloria* which he had before presented to him; for happening to read over the *Academicæ Quæstiones* on his voyage, he discovered that the preface originally sent with the *De Gloria* had also been used for this latter work. "I keep," he says, "a volume of introductory chapters, ready written, from which I make a selection when I want one for any new work. Thus it happened that at Tusculum I gave you this preface along with the book,

¹ *Ep.* 758.
(*Att.* xvi. 6.)

not remembering that I had used it already. As soon I discovered my mistake, I composed another instead of which I now send you.”¹ Assuredly did we not know what Cicero was in his public and official career, occurrences of this voyage would make us imagine he was born to be an author only.

The remainder of this letter is written in a dissatisfied and melancholy strain. “Truly my Atticus,” he says, “I often ask myself, ἡ δεῦρ’ ὁδός σοι τί δύναται: am I not with you? why am I not beholding the jewels of Italy, my own delightful villas? I must say too much about it. But, not to be with you! wherefore? to avoid danger? If I am right, there is none near at hand; and you wish I should be there again by the time it really comes; for you say my journey is every where highly approved of, but only on the understanding that I am to appear in Rome again on the 15th of January. I will indeed do my best to return by that time; for I would rather be in Rome, encompassed with fears, than free from alarm at your beloved Athens.”

² *Phil.* i. 3.;
Ep. 748, 3.
(*Att.* xvi. 5.)

He desired to avoid the usual route to Greece, which lay from Brundisium across the sea, fearing to encounter the Macedonian legions which Antonius had ordered into Italy.² He accordingly directed his course to Sicily, and entered the harbour of Syracuse on the 15th of August. But he only remained a day or two in that city, believing that a longer sojourn in so important a place would give rise to unfavourable surmises. As he was pursuing his voyage, however, adverse winds drove him back to Leucopetra, a promontory not far from Rhegium. From thence he made another attempt to get into the open sea, but had scarcely sailed three hundred stadia* when

* [Among the Romans the mile was strictly a land measure. At

was a second time driven back to Leucopetra. Whilst waiting for a favourable wind, at the neighbouring residence of his friend Valerius, certain citizens of Rhegium arrived there, men of consequence, who had just left Rome, bringing the intelligence that there appeared every prospect of a reconciliation between Antonius and the two chiefs of the conspiracy, from whom they likewise brought an edict expressed in energetic yet reasonable terms. The Senate, they said, was to assemble in great force on the 1st of September, and Brutus and Cassius had earnestly requested that the former Consuls and Prætors would be present on the occasion. There was reason to hope that Antonius would dismiss his evil counsellors, relinquish his designs on Gaul, and conform to the wishes of the Senate.¹ One of these men had lately conferred with Brutus at Naples, having been his guest there. They showed Cicero at the same time a speech addressed by Antonius to the people, which pleased him so much, that he immediately began to think of returning to Rome. In this design he was confirmed by hearing from the same informants that his presence was ardently desired in the city, where his journey had been the subject of much animadversion. When his resolution was taken, without reference to the sarcastic observations of Atticus in a letter which greeted him in the Straits of Messina, his friend now blamed his journey (of which he had before expressed approbation), saying it was very suitable to the views of an Epicurean, but little worthy of a Stoic philosopher.²

¹ *Ep.* 759.
(*Att.* xvi. 7.)

Cicero reached Velia on his way back on the 17th of August. Brutus no sooner heard of his arrival there, than he hastened on foot to meet him, from three miles' distance where his ships were lying at anchor. "O ye

they used the Greek measure *stadium*, equivalent generally to an eighth of a mile, which was employed indifferently by land and water.]

¹ *Ep.* 759.
(*Att.* xvi. 7.)

² *Phil.* i. 4.

³ *Vell. Pat.*
ii. 62.

gods!" exclaims Cicero writing to Atticus¹; "how sincerely did he rejoice at my return! all that he had hitherto concealed in silence, he now poured forth from the fulness of his heart.* But what he most regretted was my absence from the Senate on the 1st of August." On that day, the Consular L. Calpurnius Piso, father-in-law of Cæsar, had had the courage to come forward with a spirited and patriotic speech in opposition to Antonius; but he had been feebly seconded by those in the Senate who ought to have given him their support.² This example was calculated to arouse Cicero's emulation; and the more so as his self-esteem was wounded on hearing from Brutus that it was currently reported he had gone to Greece to amuse himself with the spectacle of the Olympic Games.

Cicero and Brutus never met again after this interview. The latter quitted Italy together with Cassius, shortly after; and from Athens they departed to the provinces which had been assigned to them respectively by Cæsar, having no regard to the subsequent exchanges decreed by the Senate and people.³

Thus it was that the caprice of the elements, the entreaties of his friends, and his natural inclinations, concurred in bringing Cicero back to Italy; once more to tread the soil on which the fabric of his glory had been reared, on which it was destined yet again to appear conspicuous in the eyes of the world, and then to be cast down to ruin.

On his arrival in Rome on the last day of August, he found all the anticipations verified which his last conversation with Brutus had awakened in him; and he experienced the truth of his own words to Atticus within

* Namely, how much he was grieved that Cicero should leave Italy just at that time.

fortnight before: "And so it is, that having withdrawn myself when the danger appeared less imminent, I am now about to throw myself headlong into the fire."¹ Joy-^{1 Ep. 759. (Att. xvi. 7.)}ful acclamations, indeed, greeted him when he appeared before the gates of the city, and the people loudly testified their eagerness for his return²; but he did not venture to^{2 Plut. Cic. 43.} show himself in the Senate on the very next day, as Antonius requested, having heard that a proposition was to be brought forward for paying divine honours to Cæsar; for Antonius now openly professed himself a partizan of the late Dictator, and the executor of all his designs. Cicero excused himself on the plea of fatigue, upon which Antonius publicly declared he would send workmen to pull down his dwelling.³ His interview with^{3 Phil. i. 5.; v. 7.} Brutus had already convinced him that nothing was to be expected from the edict of which the Rhugian messengers had informed him, or from another issued by Antonius in the same strain: and it was evident that no prospect whatever existed of an accommodation between the Consul and the Prætors. On the following day, which was the 2nd of September, he made his appearance in the Senate, and delivered against Antonius, who was absent, the first of the Philippic orations. He spoke, as he afterwards said, "with less freedom than was his wont, yet with more than the dangers impending over him, and the threats of Antonius, rendered prudent."⁴ "It was to follow the example of Piso," these were his words, "who spoke so courageously on the 1st of August, but which was not imitated by the other senators, that I hastened to Rome. It was not that I expected to do good to the cause (for of this I had no hope, nor was my strength sufficient for it), but that in case I should meet with a fate befitting humanity (for monstrous and unnatural are some of the ills with which I am threatened) the

words I this day utter may remain an imperishable witness of my love to the Republic." He then proceeds to relate the whole course of his conduct since Cæsar's death; explains the motives which had led to his departure from Italy and return thither; complains of the reception he had met with from Antonius, and of the posthumous honours decreed to Cæsar; at the same time declaring his acquiescence in all the late Dictator's enactments, providing they had not been falsified or added to by Antonius, against whose edicts he protests in decided and vehement terms. He concludes with exhorting Dolabella, who was present, and Antonius, also, to remember the paths of true glory, and to aim at acquiring the love rather than the fear of their fellow citizens. Moderate as was the tone of this speech, especially when compared with those that followed, it sufficed to inflame the ire of Antonius, and rendered all reconciliation at once impossible. Speaking of it afterwards, Cicero says: "I attacked Antonius so vigorously—for I was the only freeman in an assembly of slaves—that he could not endure it, and his whole wrath, heightened by the fumes of wine, was poured out upon me."¹

¹ *Ep.* 812, 2.
(*Div.* xii. 25.)

The circumstance thus alluded to took place at a sitting of the Senate on the 19th of September. Cicero had been summoned by Antonius to attend it, but did not choose to appear. For seventeen days, at his residence near Tibur, Antonius had brooded over this speech.* In his reply, he seemed, as Cicero wrote to Cassius, "not so much to speak, as to vomit words."² Cicero was confident that had he not, at the urgent request of his friends, stayed

² *Ep.* 862.
(*Div.* xii. 2.)

* *Phil.* v. 7. In a letter to Cassius, Cicero says: *In villa Metelli (Scipionis) complures dies meditatus erat.* *Div.* xii. 2. This Metellus was father-in-law to Pompeius, and after the battle of Thapsus had thrown himself into the sea. Antonius now possessed his villa.

away from the Senate and taken measures for his personal security, he would have fallen a bloody victim to the enmity which Antonius then declared against him.¹ The substance of the Consul's harangue we learn from the second Philippic which Cicero composed soon afterwards, as though with the intention of delivering it, face to face, as a reply to his antagonist: it was, however, never really spoken.* It must be confessed that Antonius dealt some forcible blows at certain failings of his opponent. He read aloud a letter he had received from him in the affair of Sextus Clodius, expressing the utmost devotion to his interests; but his principal charge against Cicero was that he was the author of the conspiracy against Cæsar, and the instigator of all the subsequent proceedings of the conspirators. He hoped by these accusations to excite the wrath of the veterans against him. "The madman," writes Cicero to Cassius, "asserts that I was the author of your glorious deed. Would I had been so! He would not then have been able to tyrannize over us."²

¹ *Ep.* 762.
(*Div.* xii. 2.);
Phil. v. 7.

² *Ep.* 763.
(*Div.* xii. 3.)

Cicero's indignation against Antonius now knew no bounds. Through him he beheld himself deprived of all the most highly valued, his Consular authority and his influence in the State. He thus writes to Plancus at the end of the month: "Since I have been summoned back by the Republic, the schemes of Antonius have given me no rest: for to such a length does he carry, I will not say his effrontery, since that is a crime every where prevalent, but his despotism, that he cannot endure even a free look, much less a free word:"³ and soon after he writes to Cas-

³ *Ep.* 760.
(*Div.* x. 1.)

* The second Philippic was probably composed at Puteoli, whither Cicero repaired towards the close of October. He sent it from thence to Atticus, with these words: "When will the day come when you will deem it expedient to make this oration public?" *Att.* xv. 13. And he writes again, on the fifth of November: "Oh that I might live to see the day when this speech may range freely among men!"

¹ *Ep.* 763.
(*Div.* xii. 3.)

sus: "The fury of Antonius augments daily: he has had inscribed on a statue which he has erected in the Rostrum, *Patri optime merito*, so that you see you are to be stigmatized not only as murderers, but as parricides."¹ Again in the second Philippic, when describing the earlier life of Antonius, he gives vent to his embittered feelings in terms of unrestrained and immoderate abuse.

² *Dio Cass.*
xlv. 10.; *Appian*, *B. C.*
iv. 36.

³ *Ep.* 761.
(*Div.* xi. 4.)

⁴ *Ep.* 764.
(*Div.* xii. 23.);
see also 779.
(*Div.* xii. 22.)

His return to Rome at once convinced him how utterly groundless were the hopes he had allowed himself to entertain at Rhegium, and in how critical a position the Republic was placed. His great care now was to confirm the principal military officers and provincial governors in their loyalty to the Commonwealth. From Sextus Pompeius there was not much to expect, at all events for the present. He had actually quitted Spain on receiving from Lepidus the promise that his patrimonial inheritance should be restored to him, and had taken up his residence at Massilia, where he watched the course of events, and assembled a naval force.² But much depended at this juncture upon Decimus, who with the Senate's approbation had taken possession of Cisalpine Gaul as a Prætorian province, and kept his soldiers in martial training by making incursions upon some Alpine tribes, while by distributing booty among them he secured their good will.³ At the time of Cæsar's death, Q. Cornificius was governing Africa with Consular authority. Antonius wished to appoint a new governor in his place; but the Senate having decreed the prolongation of his command, Cornificius found means to maintain himself there, and there was reason to hope that he would now prove faithful to the cause of the Republic.*⁴ M. Brutus had gone into Macedonia, where Q. Hortensius as Procon-

* Cornificius proved faithful; after the Triumvirate was established, however, T. Sextius was sent by Octavius to take his place, and a battle took place between them in which Cornificius was slain.

I was actually commanding¹; Cassius to Syria, where he might expect a struggle with Dolabella. It was especially important to secure L. Plancus, who was posted with a considerable force in Transalpine Gaul; for he might be able to hold in check the wary Lepidus, who was now more closely bound to Antonius by the ties of family connexion^{* 2}; while on the other hand should Antonius succeed in making himself master of that province, and unite his forces with those of Lepidus, all would be lost. Asinius Pollio who governed Bætica and Lusitania, would doubtless side with whichever party proved strongest. At the end of September Cicero writes to Plancus: "I live in the greatest apprehension, not for the safety of my life, which is neither barren of years nor of deeds, nor (were that anything) of glory. But it is for my country I feel this anxiety; and most especially do I long for the period of your Consulate†; but that appears so distant as yet, that we must think ourselves fortunate if we can keep breath in the body of the Commonwealth till it arrives. What can we hope for in a State where all things are held in subjection by the weapons of the most atrocious and abandoned of men? where no power remains in the hands either of Senate or people? where no laws are held binding, no judicial authority is recognized, — in a word no shadow or trace of a Commonwealth can anywhere be discovered?"³ But he wrote in a somewhat sanguine strain of the young Octavius, in a letter to Cornificius about the middle of October: "Great expectations," he says, "are centered in him. I know not what he may not be capable of undertaking for the sake of fame and honour."⁴ He

¹ Dio Cass. xlvii. 21.

² Ep. 762. (Div. xii. 2.)

³ Ep. 760. (Div. x. 1.)

⁴ Ep. 764. (Div. xii. 23.)

* The earlier connexion of Lepidus — for he and Cassius had married the sisters of Brutus — was thrown into the background.

† L. Plancus had been already nominated by Cæsar to the Consulship for 712, together with Decimus.

was not, however, so dazzled by the young man's abilities and promise as to place unreserved confidence in him.

From the depressing spectacle which the actual aspect of affairs presented, he raised his eyes to more remote contingencies. "The Roman people," he writes to Cassius at the end of September, "can perceive that there are three Consulars, who because they mean honestly and dare to utter their sentiments freely, can no longer return safely within the precincts of the Senate."¹ By these he meant L. Piso, P. Servilius, and himself. L. Cotta rarely took heart to attend the assembly, "where soldiers were a closer and more vigilant audience than senators."² L. Caesar, uncle of Antonius, "the best and most steadfast of citizens," was labouring under illness. S. Sulpicius was absent.³ The other Consulars were not to be depended upon; nor at this time could much reliance be placed on Hirtius and Pansa the Consuls elect.† "Thus," exclaims Cicero to Cassius, "all our hopes rest on you and Brutus."

¹ Ep. 762.
(Div. xii. 2.)

² Ep. 765.
(Div. x. 2.)

³ Ep. 762.
(Div. xii. 2.)

Towards the end of this year, Dolabella prepared to go into Syria‡, intending to suppress the Republican party there, and to conduct an expedition against the Parthians. The latter design was however little more than a pretext for getting a considerable force under his command, and especially the troops collected under Trebonius in Asia, with which he might be able to make head against his political foes.

The Macedonian legions which Antonius had artfully contrived to lay his hands on, as we have before seen, landed at Brundisium in the autumn, led by Caius the

* [*Nec nostræ dignitatis videtur esse ibi sententiam de re publica dicere, ubi me et melius et proprius audiant armati quam senatores.*]

† See Quintus Cicero's words on this subject in writing to Tiro, Ep. 780. (Div. xvi. 27.), and compare Cicero's expressions, Ep. 747, 4. (Att. xvi. 1.).

‡ At the end of October he was at Baiæ. Ep. 766. (Att. xv. 13.)

consul's brother. They proved the occasion for an open
 clash between Antonius and Octavius. A short and su-
 ficial reconciliation¹ between these two personages had
 not succeeded by a return of their former hostile dispo-
 sitions. When the people desired to elect Cæsar's heir
 to the Tribuneship, Antonius had interfered to prevent it.²
 A report was allowed to circulate that Octavius had at-
 tempted to procure his rival's assassination. There was
 probably no truth in the story.*³ On the 9th of October
 Antonius repaired to Brundisium, to join the Macedonian
 legions; he designed to procure their fidelity by a distri-
 bution of money, and then to lead them to the capital: his
 immediate intention was to employ them against Decimus
 Brutus, but he wished first to overawe the Senate by their
 presence. Octavius meanwhile had not been idle. When
 the Consul addressed the legions at Brundisium, he was
 countered by reproaches for having so long delayed to
 take vengeance on Cæsar's murderers; and his attempts to
 work upon them by gifts only excited them to mockery.
 Two legions shortly afterwards went over to Octavius,
 one was more splendid both in his promises and his per-
 formances, and who had already succeeded in establishing
 influence over the Cæsarian veterans in many cities in
 Southern Italy.†⁴ Thus deceived in his expectations,
 Antonius fell into transports of rage, and caused a great
 number of the centurions (Cicero says three hundred†) to

¹ Appian, B. C. iii. 30.

² Appian, B. C. iii. 39.; Dio Cass. xlv. 46.

³ Ep. 764. (Div. xii. 23.); Suet. Oct. 10.

⁴ Ep. 767.; 768. (Att. xvi. 8. 9.)

That Cicero was himself aware of such a design has been concluded
 from his words: *Prudentes et boni viri et credunt factum et probant*. Others
 satisfied that the story was a fiction of Antonius, who sought thereby to
 secure his retention of Cæsar's inheritance. Appian doubts its truth, and
 gives reasonable grounds.

Appian, B. C. iii. 40.; Dio Cass. xlv. 12.; Liv. Epit. cxvii.; Cic. Phil.
 i. 4.; Phil. v. 8. The legions which went over to Octavius were the
 Cæstian and the Martian (*Ad Div. xi. 7.*); some soldiers from the second
 and the thirty-fifth also joined him.

Phil. iii. 4. 12., v. 8. According to this account the sufferers could not
 have been all centurions, for there were only sixty of these to each legion.

be put to death before his and Fulvia's eyes. He then sent on the troops to Ariminum.

Cicero did not think it advisable to be in Rome just this time. He quitted it towards the end of October.

¹ *Ep.* 766.
(*Att.* xv. 13.)

On the 25th we find him at Puteoli.¹ Matters had indeed been pushed to extremities. What he was to expect from Antonius he had fully learnt from the Consul's speech of September 15th, announcing open war against him; he had entirely broken off with his son-in-law L. Clodius, who was devoted to Antonius, and who beside angered him now by refusing to restore Tullia's marriage

² *Ep.* 775, 1.
(*Att.* xvi. 15.)

portion²; little was to be hoped from the Senate; the views of Octavius remained still to be discovered. Sooner had he escaped from the city than he hastened to his beloved studies. He wrote much at this time. "Exhort me to write," he says to Atticus: "your advice is

³ *Ep.* 769, 1.
(*Att.* xvi. 11.)

friendly, but I assure you I do nothing else."³ He completed the books *De Officiis*, which he dedicated to his son.⁴

⁴ *Ep.* 769, 1.
(*Att.* xv. 13.;
xvi. 11.)

Now, too, he felt more inclined than formerly to enter on the work recommended by Atticus, in imitation of the anecdotes of Heraclides: he was quite impatient to undertake an historical composition.* The second Philippic was a product of this period. Now, too

Cicero speaks under the influence of passion, and paints with the most vivid colours. Appian says that Antonius decimated the legions as the law demanded, but did not permit the execution of all upon whom the lot fell.

* *Ad Att.* xv. 13. 4., xvi. 13. We must distinguish between Cicero's works relating to the history of his times. With the one which he calls *Ἀνέκδοτα*, on the model of the Philippics of Theopompus, he occupied in the year 695 (*Att.* ii. 6.), and it was not completed in 71 (*Att.* xiv. 17.), that is if the work mentioned in this letter is the same with that mentioned in the former one. The other book he called *κλείδιον*, which is the one here treated of. It was so named after Heraclides Ponticus, a disciple of Plato, who wrote a work upon the State, which contained several anecdotes of contemporary sovereigns and statesmen.

solations of Philosophy were doubly welcome to him. In Puteoli he writes to Atticus: "I have thrown myself into the arms of Philosophy (for what else remains me?) and I am investigating the subject of moralities in a noble essay."¹ Again, writing to Cornificius¹ *Ep.* 766. (*Att.* xv. 13.) before he left Rome, he says: "This (the unfortunate condition of the State), and all the evils that can befall man, I endure with resolution; so that truly I owe my thanks to Philosophy, which transports me from the midst of my cares, and furnishes me with a defence against the storms of fate. Follow my example, I entreat you, and look upon crime as the only evil."²

If we knew nothing of Cicero but from these and similar declarations, we should imagine him to be in practice, not in doctrine, a thorough and consistent Stoic. But his letters afford the clearest evidence how far this was from the truth; and if Philosophy did really at times afford him the support he boasted, it often left him defenceless when most he needed help. Yet, while refusing our admiration as a rigid Stoic, we feel that his susceptible temperament, so finely attuned to every change of influence, renders his character all the more attractive. It was his inextinguishable sense of goodness and beauty in every form, that at times makes him appear almost unconscious of the evils and disorders by which he was surrounded. It is really pleasant to find that the conduct of his son, which had caused him frequent anxiety, now afforded him sincere gratification; and indeed, a letter from a young man to Tiro, about this time, brings him before us in a very amiable light.³ He was considered³ *Ep.* 781. (*Div.* xvi. 21.) worthy to serve under Brutus in Macedonia, and distinguished himself in the cause of the Republic.⁴ Nor could⁴ *Phil.* x. 6. Cicero fail to regard with satisfaction the conduct of his nephew, who was exerting himself to make Antonius

¹ *Ep. 714.*
(*Att. xvi. 14.*)

render an account of his application of the public treasure.*¹ To his friend's daughter, the little Attica, his heart

² *Ep. 769.*
(*Att. xvi. 11.*)

was ever open. Thus he ends a letter to her father on 5th of November²: "As my Attica is always good happy, which I like children to be, kiss her heartily for me."[†]

He appears now to have resumed with his brother the friendly intercourse of former times. But Atticus remained ever the trusted friend with whom his inmost thoughts were shared. We are extremely fortunate in possessing ten letters addressed to him during these important months of November and December.³

³ *Epp. 766—775.* (*Att. xv. 13.; xvi. 4, 15.*)

When he retired into the country at the end of October[‡], all that he had determined as to his future course was, that he would oppose Antonius to the utmost of his power. He shrank from the prospect of taking up arms, yet Octavius had now surrounded himself with so great a military force, that a struggle between him and Antonius appeared inevitable. "I agree with you," he writes in his first letter to Atticus, after leaving Rome; "we will not assemble forces, or take any military command, nor lend our countenance and support to the cause." "I am quite of your opinion in what you say about the countenance of freedom. It is the sweetest of blessings."

⁴ *Ep. 766.*
(*Att. xv. 13.*)

It was during the period of Cicero's absence from Rome that the arrival of the Macedonian legions at Brundisium and the successful machinations of Octavius among the Cæsarian veterans, occurred.§⁵ He writes to Atticus

⁵ *Epp. 767, 768, 1.* (*Att. xvi. 8, 9.*)

* This was to take place on the Nones of December, *quibus negotium esset.*

† *Atticæ, quoniam, quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, mei suavius des.*

‡ He resided successively at his villas near Puteoli, Sinuæ Arpinum.

§ In the beginning of November Octavius had already 3000, and was before the two legions which have been mentioned went over to

1st of November: "I have had a letter from Octavius. He is doing great things. He has gained all the veterans Casilinum and Calatia. And no wonder; for he presents every soldier with 500 denarii. He purposes next to conquer the other colonies. His design is very evidently to make a hostile movement against Antonius. And thus it appears that we shall certainly have war within a few days." Yet how could he persuade himself to obey without the reserve the guidance of a youth, who up to this time had paid him the respect due to a father, and whose actions had been wholly unauthorized by the Senate¹: who, as Caesar's heir moreover, could hardly by possibility feel himself partly inclined to the cause which Cicero held so precious? These are his own words on the subject, to Antonius: "Whom shall I follow? Consider his name, his age. And now he demands a secret interview with me either at Capua or in the vicinity of this city. This is itself a proof of childish inexperience, to think that any such interview could remain secret."² Again: "Octavius conducts himself very sagaciously. He means to advance on Rome at the head of a large body of troops. Yet he is but a youth after all. He fancies the Senate will immediately assemble for his sake. But who will appear? Who will venture to offend Antonius in the present doubtful posture of affairs? I receive letters from him daily. He says I must do something; must come to Capua; must be once more the instrument of saving the State. At all events I must betake myself to Rome without delay."

¹ *Epp.* 774.; 778. (*Att.* xvi. 14.; *Div.* xi. 7.); comp. *Phil.* v. 16.

² *Ep.* 767. (*Att.* xvi. 8.)

Αἰδεσθὲν μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δέϊσαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι."³

³ *Iliad*, vii. 93.; *Ep.* 769, 4. (*Att.* xvi. 11.)

You make many just remarks on political matters, particularly where you say: 'Though at present Octavius is sparing Antonius in admirable restraint, it is to the future

we must look.' What a speech was that of his to people! *—' As he hoped to attain the glory of his father—that was his oath; and therewith he stretched forth

¹ *Ep.* 775, 1.; right hand to Cæsar's statue."¹ Yet more remarkable
comp. *Plut.*
Cic. 45. (*Att.*
xvi. 15.)

his words in the following passage: "In this I am of your mind. When once Octavius gets the upper hand the decrees of the Tyrant will receive a sanction far more powerful than was awarded them in the Temple of Terminus and in this case in opposition to Brutus."²

² *Ep.* 774.
(*Att.* xvi. 14.)

Considerations such as these could not fail to cause Cicero much embarrassment and hesitation. He wrote to his friend from Puteoli, in the beginning of November: "Octavius presses me, but I try to find excuses. I cannot trust his youth; nor do I know what his real views are."

I shall do nothing without your friend Pansa. I know Antonius is too powerful. I do not like to be far from the sea-coast; and yet I am apprehensive that in my absence from Rome they will take some important step.

³ *Ep.* 768.
(*Att.* xvi. 9.)

And in another letter, written from Arpinum about the middle of the month, he says: "It grieves me to find that I am absent at a time when perhaps it would be better for me to be present: but I am afraid of venturing to return to the city."⁴

⁴ *Ep.* 773.
(*Att.* xvi. 13.)

But he advised Octavius to advance thither in order to counteract the designs of Antonius. There was every probability that the people would come over to him, and if he should succeed in inspiring confidence in his intentions, he might make his way with the Optimates likewise.⁵ In any case a check would be given to the machinations of Antonius, the enemy alike of Cicero and of the Republic. The scruple did not occur to him

⁵ *Ep.* 767.
(*Att.* xvi. 8.)

* Having raised an army of veterans in the south of Italy, before the Macedonian legions had declared for him, Octavius hastened with them to Rome, in accordance with Cicero's advice. He made his appearance at the popular assemblies summoned by the Tribune Canutius (*Diab.* xlv. 12.), and there delivered a vehement speech against Antonius.

was acting in contravention of the legitimate Consul, and was throwing all his influence on the side of a youth who up to that time had been acting without any legal authority. But it was the curse of that age, and the great cause of the ruin of the State, that there was no longer any institution possessing the principle of vitality; that the laws were insufficient; that the parties which divided the Commonwealth were grounded far more on personal jealousies than on real political differences; that those whose intentions were purest were too often misled by passion, and snatched at any means that offered, in order to secure the ends which they esteemed holy and just.

Amidst these doubts and perplexities Cicero passed the month of November; and perhaps he would have gone on doubting, had not Antonius quitted Rome¹, and circumstances and his own feelings alike impelled him to a determination. In characters like his, action is rarely the result of calm deliberation, or of a sagacious observation and management of events. His speeches and political correspondence, indeed, might lead us to conclude otherwise; but, whether for his advantage or disadvantage, at all events for our better appreciation of his character, we happen to possess, together with the records of his fame, those familiar letters which unfold every secret working of his heart. Such minds are often led by some slight and accidental motive to adopt the resolution to which their inclination has long been tending. The immediate occasion which brought Cicero to Rome may provoke the sneer of unfriendly criticism, and cast a slur upon his otherwise magnanimous conduct during the closing year of his life. But we prefer to judge him by the analogy of his whole character; and so judging him, we believe that his conduct was natural and consistent. His hatred of

¹ *Ep.* 793.
(*Div.* x. 28.)

Antonius had been continually increasing in bitterness; of this we have clear evidence in the second Philippic; and every scruple he had felt on account of Octavius's youth and his relationship to Cæsar, gradually gave way before the influence of this feeling. Still he hesitated. As long as Antonius remained in Rome, he dared not show his face there. All at once his enemy quits the city; and then Cicero's desire to return grows stronger. Atticus counsels him to await the issue of events. But pecuniary embarrassments press upon him; there is a large sum to be paid to Terentia; Dolabella has never refunded Tullia's marriage portion; his son is a source of great expense to him. Here then is the pretext with which he meets his friend's objection, and doubtless at the moment he really meant what he said. The words are contained in a letter dated from Arpinum; it was the last letter he wrote during his absence from Rome, and the last Atticus ever received from him. "You advise me sensibly, and as a friend, to remain where I am until we learn the result of the present movements. But, my friend, it is not the condition of the State about which I am now anxious. Not that there is, or ought to be, anything dearer to me; but Hippocrates tells us not to take medicine when the disease is desperate. So let that pass! But my concern now is for my private affairs; my affairs, did I say? my honour, rather."¹ And he goes on to speak of the temporary difficulties in which the necessary payment of certain debts was about to place him. "Thus," he concludes, "I must come to Rome, though it were to throw myself into the fire. It is worse to go to ruin alone, than in company with the entire Republic." *

¹ Ep. 775, 2.
(Att. xvi. 15.)

* Schütz dates this letter late in November, though it appears to have been written later still, immediately before Cicero's departure from Arpinum. It concludes with the words *Adsum igitur*; and on the 9th of

And here we have another remark to make on the peculiarities of Cicero's character. It was often a matter of great difficulty to him to come to any decision on a subject, and this difficulty increased with his years. But once brought to action, once convinced that a certain line of conduct was right and beneficial for the State, from that moment he would show himself active, indefatigable, firm and enduring. A noble contrast to his earlier letters is presented to us by the concluding series of his correspondence, and the twelve speeches against Antonius, which we shall have now to examine.

Scarcely had he arrived in the city, when he repaired to Pansa the Consul elect (Hirtius was now ill), and learnt from him that Decimus Brutus was holding himself in readiness to oppose the entrance of Antonius into Gaul.¹ *Epp.* 779.; 776. (*Div.* xii. 22.; xi. 5.) The latter, after his failure at Brundisium, had returned to Rome about the middle of November, in a state of violent irritation. He had heaped abuse upon his young rival, had forbidden the three Tribunes, Cassius, Carfulenus, and Canutius, the first of whom was brother of the conspirator, the last an active partizan of Octavius, to enter the Senate under pain of death; and with angry threats had announced a meeting of that assembly for the 28th of November.² But while every one was expecting³ *Phil.* iii. 6. 8. 9. that he would take that opportunity of exposing the proceedings of Octavius, and present a scheme for the arrangement of affairs, he was thunderstruck on hearing that two of his legions had deserted to his rival, and were encamped at Alba. After hastily assenting to a decree granting a supplication to Lepidus, he broke up the assembly, and hurried off, to prevent, if still possible, the threatened

December he was in Rome. It is possible, however, that Cicero may have remained some days at his Tusculanum, and have here been informed that the moment was tolerably favourable for his appearance in Rome.

defection. In this, however, he was unsuccessful; and upon, returning to Rome he called the Senate together again the same evening, made a distribution of provisions among which Macedonia fell to his brother Caius, and off to join his army which was quartered at Tibur. With four veteran legions under his command, he marched against D. Brutus.*¹

¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 46.; *Phil.* iii. 10.; v. 9.

While still at Arpinum, Cicero had received a visit from Oppius, who earnestly entreated him to declare for Brutus. But he held back. "Never," he writes to Atticus.² "could I persuade myself to accept deliverance from him." He consented, however, to let the events of the 10th December decide him. On that day the new Tribunes were to enter on their office, one of them being Cassius whose dagger gave Cæsar his mortal wound. Should Octavius oppose no obstacle to Casca's assumption of his duties, it might be regarded as a token that he did not intend to adopt hostile measures against the conspiracy generally. Thus in fact it happened, and Cicero was deceived. His hatred of Antonius confirmed him in his delusion, and for the moment he saw no salvation for the Republic save in the army which Octavius had collected. Thus he writes to Trebonius: "Had he not quickly assembled the veterans, and been joined by two Antonian legions, and had not Antonius been thoroughly frightened in consequence, what crimes and cruelties would not our Consul have perpetrated!"³ And now, if the youthful chief could be brought to coalesce with Hirtius and Pansa and if they should conscientiously fulfil their duties as Consuls (and of Pansa Cicero entertained a very favourable opinion)⁴, the 1st of January would see the soldiers placed under the auspices of the Republic.

² *Ep.* 775, 1. (*Att.* xvi. 15.)

³ *Ep.* 793. (*Div.* x. 28.)

⁴ *Ep.* 779. (*Div.* xii. 22.)

The new Tribunes convened the Senate on the 20th December to consult for the personal security of

* Subsequently he had six legions. *Phil.* viii. 8.

Consuls on the day of their entrance upon office. Cicero went early to the Curia. It had been his intention not to appear there before the commencement of the new year; but when the edict of Decimus was made known, forbidding Antonius to enter Gaul, and threatening him with war should he disobey, he thought it would be unjust that the assembly should allow the great services of Decimus to his country to be passed over in silence, as but for him would have been the case.¹ It was requisite likewise to ¹ *Ep. 777.*
urge the adoption of measures for securing the fidelity of *(Div. xi. 6.)*
the provincial governors, and for preventing them from yielding up their command to any one not appointed by the Senate to succeed them.² He therefore changed his ² *Ep. 779.*
purpose. He had sent a message to Decimus imme- *(Div. xii. 22.)*
diately on his arrival at Rome, urging him to hold out vigorously against the public enemy. "I conjure you, in the same words as the Senate and people of Rome," he said, "to deliver the Republic for ever from the yoke of kingly tyranny, that the end may answer to the beginning."³ ³ *Ep. 776.*
Every thing depended upon harmony of action between *(Div. xi. 5.)*
Decimus, Octavius, and the Consuls.

When it became known that Cicero was in the Curia the senators collected in numbers; the Consuls designate were absent however, Hirtius from sickness.⁴ The great ⁴ *Phil. v. 11.*
orator delivered the harangue which has come down to us under the title of the third Philippic. Its aim was to induce the Senate to authorize all that Octavius had hitherto done without its sanction, and to kindle enthusiasm for the spirited and patriotic conduct of Decimus. He succeeded in procuring a resolution that thanks should be rendered in the name of the Senate to that commander, and to the cities in his province which had given proof of their fidelity; further, that the same honour should be conferred on Octavius and on the veterans who had es-

poused his side, particularly on Egnatuleius, who had brought over to him the fourth legion. L. Plancus and all the other provincial governors were to be exhorted to keep their subjects in obedience to the Senate's authority, and to resign their charge to none but such as it might appoint to succeed them.¹ Cicero launched into violent invectives against Antonius. Writing afterwards to Trebonius, he says: "In my speech to the Senate on the 20th of December I took a comprehensive survey of the Republic: my language was powerful, and I recalled the languid and feeble assembly to something of its former virtue, more by energy than argument. My efforts this day gave the Roman people the first ray of hope that freedom might be restored."² As soon as the meeting broke up he repaired to the Forum, where he announced the decree of the Senate to a numerous assemblage of the people, and sought to excite their ardour for the maintenance of the constitution, proclaiming Antonius virtually, if not in express terms, to be the enemy of his country.³ This oration is known as the fourth Philippic.* The resolutions pronounced by the meeting were, that the Consuls should be ordered to provide for the security of the Senate on the 1st of January; that the conduct of Decimus merited commendation; that Cicero's proposals respecting the provinces should be agreed to; and that the Consuls should, as soon as possible, bring before the Senate a measure on the subject of Octavius.⁴

Cicero forthwith sent to Decimus an account of the meeting of the Fathers and the speech he had delivered in his favour, and, in another letter soon after, exhorted him not to await with cautious hesitation the commands of the Senate where the welfare of the Republic was at stake

* The second Philippic, it is probable, was first published upon the delivery of this oration.

¹ *Phil.* iii.; comp. *Ep.* 779. (*Div.* xii. 22.); *Appian, B. C.* iii. 51. foll.

² *Ep.* 793. (*Div.* x. 28.); comp. *Ep.* 812, 1. (*Div.* xii. 25.)

³ *Ep.* 777. (*Div.* xi. 6.); *Phil.* iv. 1.

⁴ *Phil.* iv. 2.

and circumstances called for action, but to imitate herein the example of Octavius.¹ He sought also to inspire him with confidence in the young man, whom Decimus naturally regarded with suspicion. Decimus had sent his legate Lupus to Cicero, in whose house a few trusty friends now assembled to consult on the state of affairs. Decimus had thrown himself into the city of Mutina and was there besieged by Antonius.²

² Appian, B. C. iii. 49.

Octavius, again, not waiting for the Senate's orders, had broken up from Rome before the close of the year to march against Antonius³; it seemed as though he were³ desirous of showing how ready he was to act by Cicero's advice. Nor did he fail thereby to remove much of the Consular's distrust of him. Yet was Cicero far from trusting in him alone for the success of the cause; and he wrote repeatedly to Decimus, Cassius, Plancus and Cornificius, exhorting the latter not to surrender the government of his province to Calvisius, who claimed it by the appointment of Antonius.⁴ Most welcome to him was a letter which he received before the close of the year from Plancus, who, if any one, was in a position, as Cicero imagined, to ruin or to save the State. Were Antonius defeated at Mutina and prevented from joining Lepidus, the State was saved: the other alternative it was for Plancus, by his most earnest endeavours, to avert.*

⁴ Ep. 779. (Div. xli. 22.)

Cicero had been on intimate terms with his family before the birth of Plancus himself, whom he had loved from childhood, taking a kindly interest in his education and tastes; and the youth had requited his affection with corresponding gratitude and reverence.⁵ Cicero had observed with some anxiety his devotion to Cæsar's interests,

⁵ Ep. 434. (Div. xlii. 29.)

* Plancus had three legions, Asinius Pollio two, Lepidus four. Appian, B. C. iii. 46.

and the trust reposed in him by the usurper. But circumstances had now changed. Cæsar's place was occupied by Antonius, who was openly endeavouring to bring the whole State into subjection: could Plancus be made to consider him as an enemy, the year 712, which Cæsar had assigned for his Consulate, might prove an era of salvation for the Republic. To secure this end was the object of an earlier letter to Plancus¹; and the reply was as follows: "I cannot neglect the smallest duty towards you without committing a grave fault. Your intimate friendship with my father, my own devotion to you from my youth up, and your affection for me, conspire in producing this feeling. And therefore be assured that you are the only man whom I am resolved to honour with filial reverence. Such a sentiment befits alike your age and mine. Your advice appears to me a proof, not only of sagacity, but of an uprightness which my sense of moral excellence teaches me how to value. What inducement should I have to espouse the opposite cause? To the good qualities and advantages I possess, from the favour of fortune or my own exertions, though, indeed, your affection leads you to prize them too highly, yet, by the admission of my enemies, I need no other addition but an honourable fame. Rest assured, then, that whatever my strength can perform, my prudence foresee, or my influence effect, shall be consecrated to the service of the Republic."* 3

Ep. 760.
(Div. x. 1.)

Ep. 783.
(Div. x. 4.)

* We have 116 letters belonging to the period which elapsed between Cæsar's death and the end of the year 710, seventy of which are addressed to Atticus. The most important of the remainder are — one to the Consul Antonius, two to Dolabella, three to C. Cassius, five to Decimus Brutus, one to Trebonius, two to Munatius Plancus, five to Cornificius, to Matius and Trebatius one each, two also to Tiro, to whom here are likewise three addressed by Q. Cicero and the younger Marcus. Besides these, there is one letter from Antonius to Cicero, and the same number from Hirtius,

THE YEAR 711.

A. U. 711. B. C. 43. CIC. 64.

Consuls: C. VIBIUS PANSA; AULUS HIRTIUS.

The commencement of this year was important for Rome, most important for Cicero. The new Consuls were to prove whether they were sincere in their professions of devotion to the Republic, or whether their old attachment to Cæsar and his party was to be transferred to Antonius, the enemy of freedom. Hirtius, though no friend to Antonius, had loved Cæsar, and gave evidence, soon after his murder, that he entertained no friendly disposition towards its authors. But he contented himself with directing Cicero's attention to the acts of the Consulate on which he was now entering, and upon which he said he might form his own judgment.¹ Cicero did not feel easy, apprehending that Antonius might gain him over by his unscrupulous use of Cæsar's treasures; and of Pansa's firmness he had strong doubts.² The earnest endeavours, also, of Hirtius to dissuade Brutus and Cassius from taking up arms, might admit of an unfavourable construction.³ Cicero spared no pains to secure their fidelity; he continued to live on friendly terms with both of them, and gave them instructions in his art. But his letters to Atticus show how little he dared expect from them, especially from "him who was given up to wine and sleep."⁴

¹ *Epp.* 705.; 706. (*Att.* xiv. 22.; xv. 1.)

² *Ep.* 735. (*Att.* xv. 22.)

³ *Ep.* 719. (*Att.* xv. 6.)

⁴ *Ep.* 747, 4. (*Att.* xvi. 1.)

Still, hope was by no means abandoned. Immediately upon his last return to Rome, we find Cicero visiting

Dec. Brutus, Trebonius, Plancus, and Matius; as well as one from Decimus to M. Brutus and Cassius, and two from the two last to Antonius.

* Pansa. Hirtius was possessed of considerable talents. The letter of Quintus, addressed to Tiro, contains still stronger expressions with reference to the Consuls elect.

¹ *Ep.* 776.
(*Div.* xi. 5.);
comp. 768.
(*Att.* xvi. 9.)

² *Phil.* v. 1.

Pansa¹, and in their declaration on assuming office on the 1st of January, 711, the Consuls distinctly professed their adhesion to the cause of the Republic, and their disapprobation of the conduct of Antonius.*² But though encouraging to a certain extent, their expressions were not strong enough to satisfy Cicero, not strong enough indeed to meet the political exigencies of the moment. Perhaps they felt that to proclaim Antonius in distinct terms a public enemy, was to disparage Cæsar's memory. Not only did they avoid taking this step, but he was even allowed to receive from the people the formal appointment to the government of the very province he was now striving to acquire by force of arms. They were reluctant to pursue warlike measures against him, and required as a necessary preliminary the consent of Fufius Calenus. This was little relished by Cicero. Calenus had been Consul four years before by Cæsar's appointment: he was Pansa's father-in-law, and a personal friend of Antonius, whose wife and children were now residing under the protection of his roof: a moderate course was therefore the utmost that could be expected from him. But moderation in dealing with Antonius promised no safety to the State. Calenus pronounced that before proceeding to open hostilities, an embassy should be sent to Antonius, requiring him to desist from his actual invasion of Gaul. Cicero rose to oppose the motion; and in a speech known as the fifth Philippic, showed by circumstantial proof that Antonius had been already in fact declared a public enemy; that to send an embassy to one in such a position were to act in "contravention of the constitution of the Republic, of the usages of war, and of all former precedent; that it would be an offence against the majesty of the Roman people and

* On this account they are called in *Ad Div.* xii. 4., written in January, *egregii Consules*.

the dignity of the Senate;"¹ and that any hesitation or ¹ *Phil.* v. 9. delay in their proceedings would be giving a certain advantage to him. The proper course, he said, would be to command him instantly to raise the siege of Mutina, and to enforce this command by the authority of arms. In a second division of his speech he demanded rewards and honours for Decimus Brutus, for Lepidus, whom he hoped by these means to deter from offering any opposition to the Senate, for Octavius, Egnatuleius, and all the veterans and other soldiers who had given their adhesion to Octavius and the Senate. In the course of this harangue we meet with the following remarkable words: "O that Caius Cæsar—I mean the father—had in the days of his youth made the regard of the Senate and the Optimates the object of his ambition! But, neglecting this, he wasted the whole vigour of his genius (and no man ever possessed more) in gaining the affection of the fickle multitude. His son (Octavius) pursues a different course. He is dear to all, but chiefly to the best and noblest. On him rest all our hopes of Freedom. His labours in the affairs of the Republic are directed to strengthen, not to undermine its foundations. I know the inmost thoughts of the young man. Nothing is more precious to him than the Commonwealth; nothing more important than your dignity; nothing more desired than the good opinion of worthy citizens; nothing dearer than true glory."² He ² *Phil.* vi. 18. concluded thus: "Despatch is necessary: had we been more prompt in our movements, we should not have had war at the present moment."

The deliberations of the Senate lasted into the night, and were continued the following day: and notwithstanding the vehement opposition of the other party Cicero would have triumphed, had not the Tribune Salvius interposed to prevent the final resolution. The

¹ *Phil.* vi. 1.;
comp. Appian, *B. C.*
iii. 50, 51.

sitting was adjourned, and in the meanwhile the mother, wife and friends of Antonius employed their utmost endeavours in his behalf. In the end his interests prevailed, though for three successive days Cicero had commanded a majority in the Senate.¹ The testimonials of honour were voted as Cicero had recommended, and with further additions: the command of the army was formally conferred on Octavius, together with the dignity of Proprætor, which elevated him at once to the rank of a senator, and he was allowed the privilege of suing for the Consulate without having filled the office of Prætor the previous year. But on the other hand it was decided that a deputation should be sent to Antonius consisting of Servius Sulpicius, the first jurist in Rome; L. Piso, who notwithstanding his former spirited conduct on the 1st of August, did not desire his adversary's total overthrow, and had just spoken effectively in his favour; and L. Philippus. The terms of their commission were strongly drawn, and by Cicero himself.* Antonius was to engage not to make war upon Decimus, the Consul elect; he was to raise the siege of Mutina, to make no levies of troops, and to conform himself in general to the commands of the Senate and people of Rome. The envoys were then to visit D. Brutus in Mutina, and to inform him that the Senate were highly satisfied with his conduct, and that due honours were in store for him.²

² *Phil.* vi. 2,
3.

This decree was passed on the 4th of January. From the Senate Cicero went straight to the Forum, and was presented to the people by the Tribune Apuleius.³ Here

³ *Phil.* vi. 1.

* It is impossible to believe Appian's account, which is that Cicero altered the terms of the decree, so as to make it stronger against Antonius. We meet with inaccuracies in many passages in his history, especially in matters which concern Cicero, as is apparent on comparing them with the Philippics.

before an unusually large assembly he delivered the sixth Philippic, in which he gave an account of his late proceedings, and explained the decree just pronounced by the Senate. He strove to excite the passions of his audience, assuring them that it was not an embassy that was sent, but a declaration of war. Antonius he prophesied would refuse to comply with the demands of the Senate. "Let then the envoys make all haste, and do you get your accoutrements ready. For the word has gone forth — if he obeys not, it is war. He will *not* obey; and we shall have to regret the loss of so many days in which we might have been acting. But who will not be stimulated by your concord, your unanimous determination? It will be for you to confirm the resolution of the Senate, steadfast as it already is. It is not the will of the Gods that the Roman people should be slaves. The Immortals have decreed that your dominion shall extend over all the nations of the earth. Let others bend beneath the yoke; freedom is the birthright of the Romans." ¹

¹ *Phil.* vi. 7.

The exaggerated praise which Cicero bestows upon Octavius in his speech of January 1st rather startles us when we remember the apprehensions of him expressed in his last letter to Atticus; and we are tempted to consider it as meant rather for a rhetorical display than for an expression of his real sentiments. We may indeed suppose it to have been uttered partly with the view of stimulating the youth to fulfil the prophecies and expectations of which he was the subject. But it is also true that he had really acquired Cicero's confidence, and that principally by affecting great zeal in his service and deference to his opinion, in addition to which his energy and resolution in acting against Antonius were just what Cicero desired to see. Writing to Trebonius in February, Cicero says: "We have admirable Consuls; Decimus behaves nobly;

Cæsar is excellently disposed, and I expect everything from him.”¹ And in a previous letter to Brutus he speaks of him as “my Cæsar.”²

Nor was it a mere empty boast when immediately after his speech he wrote thus to Decimus: “Levies are made at Rome and throughout all Italy; if levies they can be called where all offer themselves voluntarily; so great is the passion of men for liberty — so great their abhorrence of this dreary slavery.”³ He speaks so frequently and so naturally in this strain, that we cannot believe him to have been using exaggerated language merely for the sake of keeping up the courage of his correspondents.

Thus full of hope and energy, although the course of events had not been such as altogether to satisfy him, Cicero entered upon this year (711), the last of his life. He was not insensible to the many dangers which were likely to beset him during its course, and he stood in need of all his courage and of all the proud consciousness of merit which animated him, when, writing at the commencement of the year to Cornificius, he said: “I have defended the Republic after my old fashion, as opportunity offered. I have placed myself at the head of the Senate and people; and since I have undertaken to lead the cause of freedom, I have not let a moment pass which could be employed in providing for the general welfare.”⁴ He was strong also in the conviction thus expressed in the eighth Philippic: “I who used always to oppose the rashness of the multitudes, am now by this glorious cause converted into a popular leader.”⁵

Most difficult was the task now before him, and it required no ordinary effort to maintain within himself the

* It is worthy of remark that Cicero here gives Octavius the name of Cæsar. In his last letter Plancus says: “*Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Cæsaris nomen attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum.*” *Ep.* 854. (*Div.* x. 4.)

¹ *Ep.* 793. (*Div.* x. 28.)

² *Ep.* 790. (*Div.* xi. 8.)

³ *Ep.* 790. (*Div.* xi. 8.); comp. 792.; 794.; 796. (*Div.* xii. 4. 5.; x. 5.)

⁴ *Div.* xii. 24.

⁵ *Phil.* vii. 2.

courage and endurance necessary for its accomplishment. In the Consulars, who should have been his surest allies, he found no support; they were either disinclined to the cause, or they were timid, and did not venture to approve of such revolutionary measures against one who after all was acting with the semblance of legality. L. Cæsar alone, the uncle of Antonius, behaved honestly and consistently; nevertheless for his nephew's sake he too contented himself with giving a moderate vote on the question.¹ The party which favoured Antonius, headed by Calenus, were making every exertion to gain over the Senate and people, and to guard against the unfavourable influence which a hostile vote might have upon their cause. To secure their ends they were diligent in circulating letters in which the late Consul's views and objects were represented in a more favourable aspect. The seventh Philippic, delivered by Cicero in the Senate shortly after the departure of the envoys, brings before us the machinations of this party and the hard struggle he had to maintain against them; but we also learn from it that Hirtius, though not yet recovered, had already set out for Gaul, to give the weight of his personal authority to the demands of the envoys.² He intended to join Octavius³ and assume the chief command of the army; while Pansa should remain in Rome to make further preparations for the war and superintend the affairs of government. It was the lukewarmness evinced by Pansa and his evident disinclination to the war, instead of which he occupied the Senate with less important matters, that was the immediate occasion of Cicero's speech.

The more opposition he encountered in the Senate, the greater was Cicero's anxiety to keep the provincial governors faithful to their duties. He was indefatigable in his exhortations to D. Brutus, Cassius, Plancus, Tre-

¹ *Ep.* 792.; 793.; 794. (*Div.* xii. 4.; x. 28.; xii. 5.); *Phil.* viii 1.

² *Phil.* vii. 4.

bonius, Cornificius*; and the long series of letters he wrote after his return to Rome all bear the same stamp—that of a man devoted heart and soul to the task of saving his country. And assuredly when we read these letters in conjunction with the fourteen Philippics, we have as striking a display of Cicero's political greatness as at the period of his Consulate. But again and again we have cause to lament that the residence of Atticus in Rome afforded no opportunity for his familiar correspondence with this most confidential of his friends. One letter only, not occupied with the public concerns, is extant.¹ It was addressed at the end of February to his lively and facetious friend Pætus, and it proves that in the midst of his cares and anxieties and the vast schemes which occupied his mind, he had not lost the amiable gaiety of his disposition. How pleasantly he rallies his friend for giving up his intellectual banquets and evening assemblies! and how earnestly he entreats him not to renounce social intercourse with “honest, pleasant, and friendly men”—the true solace of life! But the letter is invaluable to us on account of the closing words: “Do not—I entreat you by your

¹ *Ep.* 795.
(*Div.* ix. 24.)

* We may certainly add M. Brutus; but unhappily the letters to him are not extant. [In the edition of Cicero's works we find two books of *Epistolæ ad Brutum*, purporting to contain a correspondence between Cicero and M. Brutus during the course of the year 711. Middleton, in his *Life of Cicero*, made use of these letters without suspicion; but their genuineness was soon brought in question by Tunstall and Markland, and have since been generally rejected. Schütz, Abeken, Billerbeck and Drumann pass them over in silence. I understand, however, that they have recently found a defender of the name of Hermann; and Brückner, in his *Life of Cicero* published 1852, refers to them without scruple. They contain, unquestionably, several statements that seem irreconcilable with known dates and circumstances; the occurrence of three or four presumed un-Ciceronian words and phrases is of less weight; but the whole character of the letters is frigid and scholastic, and it seems hardly possible that the real correspondence of such men at such a time should contain so little of the slightest interest either in fact or sentiments.]

love to me — do not believe because I write thus playfully that I have abandoned my solicitude for the Republic. I assure you that I think of nothing, day and night, but the welfare and freedom of my fellow citizens. I neglect no opportunity of exhorting, of acting, of warding off dangers; and I am strong in the feeling that if all this zeal should cost me my life, I may well deem my lot a glorious one.”*

The envoys returned, it would seem, about the end of January, but without the noble Sulpicius, who had fallen sick before seeing Antonius, and died not far from his camp.¹ This was a cause of sincere grief to Cicero. The answer of Antonius fully justified all his objections to the embassy. “Odious above all,” he writes to Cassius, “I might say criminal, is the conduct of Piso and Philippus: they were sent to deliver certain distinct demands from the Senate. In no one point did Antonius comply; and now they bring back the most outrageous requisitions on his part.”² These requisitions were, that the Senate should grant lands and other rewards to his soldiers; sanction all the decrees he had passed, founded on Cæsar’s directions; demand no account of his expenditure of the public money; and confer on him the province of Transalpine Gaul for five years: on these conditions he would relinquish his claim to the other Gaulish province.³ It is easy to see that his object was, by protracting negotiations, to gain time for reducing Mutina. He would not allow the envoys to have an interview with Decimus, but sent his Quæstor Cotyla to accompany them back to Rome, and to watch over his interests there. Cicero had the mortification of seeing this man allowed to appear in

¹ *Epp.* 793.; 794. (*Div.* x. 28.; xii. 5.)

² *Ep.* 792. (*Div.* xii. 4.)

³ *Phil.* viii. 8. 9.

* This letter proves that Antonius and his adherents aimed at Cicero’s life, as also appears from some passages in the Philippics.

the Senate, when, according to his views, he ought to have been turned back from the very gates of the city.¹

¹ *Phil.* viii. 8. 10.

Again Cicero pressed for an immediate formal declaration of war, and that Antonius should be pronounced a public enemy. But Calenus and his party were still strong in opposition; and L. Cæsar, who was also unwilling to proceed to extremities, carried a motion, now that the answer of Antonius had rendered war inevitable, to make use of the milder term *tumult*, in speaking of the approaching contest, and to call Antonius the *opponent* instead of enemy of his country.²

² *Phil.* viii. 1. 2.

A second message to him was proposed by the moderate party, but this motion Cicero succeeded in getting rejected; and at his instance it was ordered, that the citizens should exchange the garb of peace for that of war. He himself renounced the Consular privilege of retaining the Toga, and appeared in the Senate wearing the Sagum*, when he delivered his speech, known as the eighth Philippic, against Calenus and the other advocates of peace.³ At that time hostilities had actually commenced with the movement of Hirtius.⁴ The day following, again in the Senate, Cicero spoke the eloquent ninth Philippic, and in it requested extraordinary honours for the deceased Sulpicius, which were accordingly granted to that distinguished patriot.†

³ *Phil.* viii. 11.

⁴ *Phil.* viii. 2.

The winter retarded the operations of the war; nevertheless, in February, Hirtius had made himself master of the city of Claternæ; Octavius was encamped at Forum Cornelii; Pansa was occupied in raising troops as far as

* In one of the fragments of Cicero's letters to Octavius he says: *Prid Non. Febr., cum ad te literas mane dedissem, descendi ad forum togatus, cum reliqui consulares sagati vellent descendere.* The words *togatus* and *sagatus* would appear to have been here transposed.

† The statue which was erected to him before the rostrum of Augustus was still in existence in the third century A. D. Pompeius, in the *Digest* i. tit. ii. s. 43. ch. 46.

Bononia, Parma, and Regium Lepidi, which Antonius had in his hands*; the whole of Hither Gaul was in the power of the Republic and well affected to its cause.¹ ¹ Ep. 794. (Div. xii. 5.) In Syria, Cassius, who was preparing for a struggle with Dolabella, had been joined by L. Murcus and Q. Crispus with their legions; one legion belonging to Cæcilius Bassus had also gone over to him, and four others which Dolabella's legate A. Allienus was bringing from Egypt, did the same², so that Cassius soon beheld himself at the head of a considerable army; and he wrote to Cicero on the 7th of March from Tarichea in Palestine, describing his position. In Macedonia, M. Brutus, having been received by Hortensius the late Proconsul as his legitimate successor, had driven C. Antonius before him, forcing him to shut himself up in Apollonia, and had brought Macedonia, Illyricum and Greece under the yoke of the Republic.³ ² Epp. 766.; 797.; 816. (Att. xv. 13.; xii. 11. 12.); Dio Cass. xlvii. 27, 28.; Applan, B. C. iii. 63. Plancus and Asinius Pollio were reputed³ ³ Ep. 794. (Div. xii. 5.) friends to the cause; and assuredly, though we cannot class them as Republicans in the same rank with Brutus and Cassius, a sufficiently wide distinction is to be drawn between them and Lepidus. A letter from Asinius to Cicero from Corduba on the 16th of March represents him in a very favourable light.⁴ ⁴ Ep. 798. (Div. x. 31.) What he says of his devotion to Julius Cæsar reminds us of Matius, and in the desire he expresses for peace and literary pursuits we recognize the friend and future protector of Virgil and Horace. Nor can the lofty spirit of reflection, and the liberal and humane sentiments displayed by one who afterwards became so distinguished, fail to command our reverence, though we should look in vain for any expression of that ardent love

* Claternæ is now Quaderna; Forum Cornelii — Imola; Regium Lepidi — Reggio.

† L. Antonius was second in command in the army of his brother Marcus.

of freedom which was no longer in harmony with the tendencies of the age.

While affairs seemed thus prosperous beyond the bounds of Italy, and the united efforts of the Consuls and Octavius gave room to hope for a favourable issue to the contest with the chief enemy of the State, Cicero did not remit his activity in Rome. In the tenth Philippic he successfully opposed the proposition of Calenus, that whereas M. Brutus was acting without the Senate's authority, he should give up his army to C. Antonius and Vatinius, the regularly appointed governors of Macedonia and Illyricum.* And in the eleventh Philippic, delivered about the middle of March, he urged that the province of Syria should be formally assigned to Cassius, with the orders to carry on the war against Dolabella.† For news had arrived in Rome that the latter, on his march to Syria, had made an atrocious assault upon Trebonius who held the government of Asia, and after torturing him for two days, had caused him to be ignominiously put to death. He had laid his hand on the public revenues, and had committed various other acts of a most unwarrantable character.‡ This intelligence caused great excitement in the capital. Pansa called the Senate together. Dolabella was declared a public enemy, and his property confiscated. Cicero, glowing with indignation at the flagitious conduct of his former son-in-law, turned the public feeling to

* Cicero's proposal was that Brutus should receive the thanks of the Senate for his achievements, and his army be left under his command; while Hortensius should remain as Proconsul in Macedonia until the Senate appointed him a successor. *Phil.* x. at the end. We learn from *Phil.* xi. 11. that Cicero carried this motion.

† It was not known at Rome at that time how well the affairs of Cassius had prospered in Asia. *Ad Div.* xii. 7.

‡ See *Phil.* xi., and compare the letter of Cassius. *Ep.* 816. (*Div.* xii. 12.)

account by depicting in lively colours the fate which awaited the Republicans should Antonius and his party prevail.

The condemnation of Dolabella involved the question, to whom should the government of Syria be committed? The secret opponents of Cassius divided themselves into two parties, one of which desired the appointment of Servilius, who had been associated with Cæsar in the Consulate of the year 48; while the other, at the head of which was Calenus, wished that Hirtius and Pansa should draw lots for the two provinces of Asia and Syria.¹ Both *Phil. xi. 9.* projects were strongly combated by Cicero in his eleventh Philippic, delivered before the Senate. He saw that their real object was to divert the attention of the Consuls from the great business before them; and in fact Pansa showed himself very ready to lend an ear to these propositions. When the sitting of the Senate was over, Cicero was presented to the assembled citizens by the Tribune Servilius; and disregarding alike the objections of Pansa, and the prayers and entreaties of the mother, the mother-in-law, and the brother of Cassius, who feared the Consul's resentment, he spoke again in eloquent and glowing terms on behalf of the leader who had with such signal success brought Syria under the orders of the Republic. Cassius, he doubted not, would act as the public welfare demanded, without waiting for a decree of the Senate.² And thus *Ep. 803. (Div. xii. 7.)* in fact it happened. Cassius maintained his position, and named himself Proconsul³; although the provinces, having *Ep. 816. (Div. xii. 12.)* been granted to the Consuls, ought legally to have been governed by their lieutenants until they could themselves assume the duties of administration.⁴ Cassius indeed *Ep. 843, 3. (Div. xi. 13.)* could not well have acted otherwise; but all these transactions show how completely the constitution of the Republic was at this time unhinged.

Cicero had to keep a watchful eye on Lepidus, as well as on the party of Calenus. He had procured great public honours for him, hoping to retain him in the interests of the Republic, although he had done nothing deserving such distinction, except in pacifying Sex Pompeius.¹ Nor did he now testify any gratitude for the favour; on the contrary, he strenuously urged measures of conciliation towards Antonius²; and his stances had such effect on Plancus, that he too now began to talk of peace, while Cicero was grudging every minute that delayed an open rupture. The treacherous acts of Lepidus are related in the letter of Asinius of which we have before had occasion to speak.³

¹ *Phil.* v. 14.

² *Ep.* 800.
(*Div.* x. 27.)
in March.

³ *Epp.* 799.;
798. (*Div.* x.
6. 31.)

⁴ *Ep.* 812, 1.
(*Div.* xii. 25.)

For one single moment Cicero's firmness was shaken. But it was the hesitation of a noble spirit, no sooner overcome, and leading only to more vigorous efforts for the future. Decimus was hard pressed in Mutina; the fate of Trebonius had struck terror into the hearts of all his friends, of the great orator more especially. Various artifices were employed to produce the impression that Antonius in his present difficulties would assume a more humble deportment. Fulvia and her children put on the appearance of deep affliction. And Cicero was misled on his weak side by a decree which passed the Senate at Pansa's suggestion, ordering that his statue of Minerva, which had been thrown down by a storm, should be re-erected in the capitol where he had placed it.⁴ The proposal for a fresh negotiation was then renewed, seconded by Pansa. Antonius, it was said, would listen to reason this time, and Cicero with four other Consuls should be sent to treat with him. Cicero acceded. No sooner had he done so than a sense of his error flashed upon his mind, and undeterred by any feeling of shame he delivered a speech in the Senate, the two

Philippic, in which he confessed his mistake, and in energetic terms refused to countenance the embassy. He represented that supposing such a measure were resolved upon, he, at all events, was the last person who ought to be sent to negotiate with Antonius; nor could he be contradicted, or accused of a display of vanity when he uttered the words, "Do you think I am to pay no consideration to the safety of my life? Truly I set little value upon it now, especially since the acts of Dolabella have made death a thing to be desired; only let it be death unaccompanied by torture! But to you, senators, and to the people of Rome, my life ought not to be quite indifferent. For, unless I greatly deceive myself, my care, my vigilance, my speeches in the Senate, in the midst of all the dangers with which the hatred of bad men threatened me, have been the means of saving the Republic from total ruin. On this account I remain in the city, and will still remain here if I may. This is my proper post — this my appointed charge. Let others devote themselves to the camp, levy war, and defend kingdoms. I, in accordance with the aim of all my former actions and of the words I am now uttering, will continue with you to protect the city and all that belongs to it." ¹

¹ *Phil.* xii. 8.
and foll.

Probably, if we possessed any letters from Cicero to Atticus at this period, we should find in them symptoms of the vacillation we have so often had occasion to remark in him; and, as has been said before, to look for stoical consistency in a man of his susceptible nature would be unreasonable. But no momentary expression of doubt or despondency could outweigh the effect produced by the incontestible facts before us; his speeches *, his letters, his

* The Philippics in particular were looked upon, even by the ancients, as masterpieces. *Liv. Fragm. ap Sen. Suasor. 7.*, says, *Caput Ciceronis in rostris positum, ubi eo ipso anno adversus Antonium quanta nulla unquam humana vox cum admiratione eloquentiæ auditus fuerat.*

noble confession of error, his pride in denominating himself the treasure of the Roman Commonwealth bear witness to the sincerity of his patriotism; and could controvert the language of his appeal from Forum to the assembled people: "Am I ungrateful (for our present purpose we will substitute the *vacillating*;) "Who is less so than I am? seeing that I have attained the highest honours of the State, I subject myself to those laborious duties in the Forum which such honours were the natural reward and completion. Am I inexperienced in the administration of the Commonwealth? Who, on the contrary, is more experienced than myself, who for twenty years have occupied in waging war upon those citizens who are the Republic's enemies?"¹ And we will add the following passage from a letter to Cornificius: "There is but one vessel now for all good men to embark in; and I am doing all I can to keep it afloat. Might but it could be prosperous! But, whether prosperous or not, my duty shall not be wanting to it. What more can I do?"²

¹ *Phil.* vi. 6.

² *Ep.* 812.
(*Div.* xii. 25.)

And here let us throw a glance over his productions of this period. The documents before us are the four speeches to which the appropriate name of Philippics has been given*, and of which the last twelve were delivered between the 20th of December 710 and the 22nd of April 711. During the interval between his return

* See the *Epp. ad M. Brutum*, ii. 4, 5. [Brutus is here made to express to Cicero's wish that the speeches should be thus denominated. Whether the letters be genuine or not, they are unquestionably of great antiquity, and may serve to prove that this name was popularly used from a very early period. We have no other authority, except Plutarch, for the notion that Cicero himself called these speeches Philippics (see *Cic.* 48.), and the notion itself may have been merely suggested by an allusion to the orations of Demosthenes so called, in a letter to Atticus (ii. 1., A. U. 694.)]

Rome and the commencement of July, which is the date of the last letter he ever wrote, we have fourteen letters to D. Brutus, eleven to Plancus, together with two to his associate Furnius, seven to Cassius, nine to Cornificius, and one each to Trebonius and Lepidus. Though all having the same political object, and thus bearing in some measure the character of State papers, we must not expect to find a uniform business-like tone pervading them. They are the effusions of a mind quickly moved to love and hatred, and full of enthusiasm for the public cause; while the diversity of the personages to whom they are addressed, the different relations in which these stood to the State and to the factions which divided it, and the changes occurring in their positions and circumstances, combine to give the interest of variety to this important collection. But it is the same Cicero who is always brought before us, whether we read his words of encouragement to the stern and energetic Decimus, on whom for a while all the hopes of the Republic appeared to rest; or his paternal exhortations to the youthful Plancus; or his praises of the eager, fiery Cassius; or whether he narrates the progress of events to Cornificius, urging him to remain fixed at his post; or whether he addresses in reserved language the crafty, treacherous Lepidus. Everywhere we see in him the lover of his country, the man of genius and courage, the master of Latin eloquence. And interspersed with his letters are others addressed to him by cotemporary actors in the great drama; by Decimus Brutus, Plancus, Asinius, Pollio, Lepidus, Caius and Lucius Cassius, Galba, Lentulus; some of which are formal accounts, to be transmitted to the Senate, of various important events; so that these letters, like many belonging to the earlier periods, may be regarded as the

principal sources of information for one of the remarkable epochs in the history of the world.*

¹ *Ep.* 804.
(*Dis.* x. 10.)

And now to resume our narrative. Although was not able at once to overthrow the project for a deputation to Antonius, it remained unaccomplish doubtless chiefly owing to his speech. At the March the Consul Pansa marched forth with his raised legions to join Hirtius and Octavius.¹ Me Antonius and his partizans ceased not to carry o intrigues. It was about this time that Lepidus, have seen, was strenuous in his recommendations of Antonius himself wrote a letter to Hirtius and Oc professing to direct them to the course which was for their advantage, and to turn them aside from fol the counsels of Cicero, whose object, he said, was r more nor less than to revive the defunct party of peius. Hirtius, however, forwarded this letter to who read it aloud to the Senate in his speech entitl thirteenth Philippic, commenting on it sentence b tence, and taking occasion to exhort the Senate to c and steadfastness. In the same harangue he reject pacific propositions of Lepidus, to whom he also add a laconic letter, with these words: "I am rejoiced a wishing to re-establish peace among fellow-citizens. & it be a peace involving no danger of slavery, you wil acted with due regard to the Republic and your honour. But should it be calculated to reinstat most iniquitous of men in the possession of unli power, then be assured that all citizens of sound mi

* We have in our collection, belonging to the year 711, eight from D. Brutus to Cicero; nine from Plancus to him, with one Senate and people; three from Asinius Pollio; one from Lep Cicero, and another to the Senate; two from C. Cassius; one from besides one from Galba and one from Lentulus, with a dispatch fr latter to the Consuls, &c.

resolved to choose death in preference to slavery. My opinion, therefore, is that you will do best not to make any attempt to bring about a pacification of this nature; which can satisfy neither the Senate nor the people, nor any one else who means well.”¹ The less he felt inclined to trust Lepidus the more anxious he was to secure the fidelity of Plancus, and he tried to induce the Senate to pronounce a panegyric upon him; but in this he was unsuccessful.²

¹ *Ep.* 800.
(*Div.* x. 27.)

² *Ep.* 804.
(*Div.* x. 10.)

The Antonians persevered in their machinations and calumnies against him. A rumour of disasters at Mutina having got wind, it was given out that Cicero was aiming at making himself Dictator, and the propriety of assassinating him began to be mooted. The Tribune Apuleius, who ever since the period of his Consulate had been his firm friend and ally, undertook to justify him from this charge before the people; but his audience cried aloud with one voice, “Cicero has never had a thought but for the welfare of the Republic.” A few hours afterwards the most favourable intelligence arrived from the theatre of war.³

³ *Phil.* xiv. 6.

The Consul Pansa had reached Bononia with the four newly-raised legions. Antonius broke up from his camp on the 15th of April with two legions, several Prætorian cohorts, and all his cavalry, hoping to prevent the junction of the two Consuls; for Hirtius was posted at a short distance from him, awaiting the arrival of his colleague. But Hirtius had meanwhile sent on first Sulpicius Galba*, and afterwards the Martian legion, which having deserted from Antonius, seemed now the fittest to oppose to him, together with two Prætorian cohorts under the command

* Galba was at first Cæsar’s legate, but became afterwards one of the conspirators against him.

of Carfulenus, and these troops joined Pansa on the night preceding the 15th. On that day an engagement took place at Forum Gallorum.* The Martian legion attacked too soon and too eagerly, carrying along with it the Prætorian cohorts, and thus brought Pansa's forces into the greatest danger. Unable to resist the onset of Antonius, they fled to their camp. But the enemy was prevented from pursuing them thither by the Martian legion, which had now recovered itself; and Antonius in the act of retreating fell back upon Hirtius, who was hastening with the fourth and seventh legions to support his colleague. With much loss Antonius succeeded in regaining his camp. Pansa, who had been dangerously wounded early in the day, was carried into Bononia.† Octavius was not present at the engagement, having staid behind to protect the camp of Hirtius against an attack from L. Antonius.¹

¹ *Phil.* xiv.
10. 14.

When the news of this victory reached Rome on the 21st of April, the people rushed to Cicero's dwelling. With joyful acclamations, as though the occasion were a triumph and he its hero, they escorted him to the capitol and back again to his own house.² The next day, at the summons of Cornutus, Prætor of the city, who in the absence of the Consuls occupied the chief post in the government, the Senate was called together to hear the despatches of Hirtius, and to pass measures in consequence. A suggestion was made that after this event the citizens might be allowed to lay aside their military garb. But Cicero rose, and in his last Philippic spoke in strong terms against this. Antonius, he said, was not yet crushed; it were shame to adopt a peaceful attitude while Decimus,

² *Phil.* xiv. 5.

* Now Castel Franco, seven miles south-east of Mutina.

† The chief authorities for the details of this battle are a letter from Galba to Cicero (*ad Div.* x. 30.), and the fourteenth Philippic. Appian must also be consulted.

the object of their solicitude, lay beleaguered by his forces. He dwelt on the merits of the Consuls and of Octavius; said that the latter deserved at their hands the title of Imperator¹, and proposed a festival of grateful commemoration to last for fifty days. He then spoke of the rewards due to the soldiers who had fought so bravely, and proposed that the State should raise a monument to the slain, to whose friends and relatives he likewise addressed some words of consolation.* His suggestions were accepted and ratified by the Senate.

¹ Dio Cass. xlv. 38.

A few days after this battle Hirtius and Octavius attacked Antonius in his camp. He was compelled to lead out his shattered legions, and was routed in a bloody combat. But Hirtius, in his zeal, had ventured too far; he had penetrated to the centre of the hostile camp, and was slain near the Prætorium. Immediately afterwards the Consul Pansa died of his wounds at Bononia.†

And now Cicero seemed to have attained the reward of his endless labours and anxieties. The people loudly rejoiced, and recognized in him the deliverer of his country, as he had been twenty years before; his opponents were silenced, the commanders in the provinces vied with each other in assurances of their devotion to him and to the Republic. How different his position now from the moment, four years ago, when he stood before the victor of Pharsalia. To his one great error, the belief that Rome could still be a Republic worthy of the name, he clung to the last. But now, instead of following the lead of Pompeius as formerly, he had ventured to trust to himself;

* It is interesting to compare this speech with that of Pericles (Thucyd. ii. 34.) on a somewhat similar occasion, which Cicero evidently had before his eyes in his peroration.

† See Appian, *B. C.* iii. 71.; Dio Cass. xlv. 38. This second battle must have been fought on the 25th of April at latest; on the 28th Decimus was at Rhegium. *Div.* xi. 9.

and his virtue was rewarded with the privilege of doing "mightier deeds in the toga than could be effected by arms."¹ And the proof that he deserved the glory which had fallen upon him was given by his still unremitting efforts in the cause. At the end of April he writes to Cornificius: "We have lost at a most unseasonable crisis Hirtius and Pansa, men whose Consulate brought with it the promise of salvation to the Republic; for though the State is delivered from the rapacity of Antonius, it is not yet restored to its proper position. If fate permits, I will uphold its dignity according to my own ideas, though I am sorely wearied. No weariness ought to stand in the way of duty and conscience."²

*Ep. 51. 3.
Div. xii. 25.*

But Rome had in reality forfeited her freedom. Whilst Cicero and all the friends of the Republic thus appeared triumphant, circumstances had fallen silently into a position which might well have tempted one less adroit than Octavius to take the great game into his hands, and play it out to his own advantage. Antonius, though beaten, was not annihilated; Lepidus held himself in readiness to make common cause with him; Asinius and Plancus, though as yet faithful to the Senate, cherished the memory of Cæsar, and had been once the companions of Antonius; Brutus and Cassius, though confirmed by the Senate in the possession of their provinces, were at a great distance from the scene of action³; the two Consuls were dead, and Octavius saw himself at the head of the warriors formed in his illustrious uncle's school.

*Vell. Pat.
i. 62.*

And now it was seen how different were the elements of opposition to Antonius around Mutina and within its walls. Forced to relinquish the siege, he had immediately broken up with the rest of his army, the cavalry of which had suffered little⁴, and had taken the nearest road over the Apennines to the southern part of Transalpine Gaul,

*Ep. 818.
Div. x. 15.*

meaning here to effect a junction with Lepidus on whom he relied as Cæsar's friend and adherent. He had already received aid from him secretly while engaged in the siege of Mutina, and the camp of Lepidus, who occupied the country between the Rhone, the Isara and the sea, would afford the best place of refuge for his shattered forces. To reinforce his weakened infantry he opened all the prisons on his way.¹ At Vada, not far from Genua, whither he had arrived in haste and disorder, he was joined by his legate Ventidius with three legions from Picenum.²

¹ *Ep.* 813.
(*Div.* xi. 10.)

² *Ep.* 841.
(*Div.* xii. 15.)

Decimus, though burning to make an end of Antonius in Italy, had lost two invaluable days. After the enemy had broken up from Mutina, he found himself destitute of cavalry and cattle. He could not trust Octavius, or at all events he wished to confer with him before venturing on any further step, in order to ascertain how far he might be relied upon. The day after the decisive battle, Pansa summoned him to Bononia; but on his way thither he was met by the news of the Consul's death*, and returned accordingly to his little army.³ He had an interview with Octavius; and urged him to take the road over the Apennines, prevent the junction between Ventidius and Antonius, and pursue the latter across the mountains; whilst he should himself march in a contrary direction and hinder the escape of Antonius over the Alps.⁴ But, whatever Octavius might promise, his mind was engaged with very different schemes. Writing somewhat later to Cicero, Decimus says: "Cæsar will not be commanded himself and cannot command his army."⁵ The old warriors of the great Emperor's school refused to serve under his assassin's orders, and held fast to Octavius, who was

³ *Ep.* 841.
(*Div.* xii. 15.)

⁴ *Ep.* 813.
(*Div.* xi. 10.)

⁵ *Ep.* 813.
(*Div.* xi. 10.)

* On comparing this account, derived from the authentic source of a letter of Decimus himself, with that of Appian (*B. C.* iii. 73, 74.), we see how little the latter is often to be depended upon.

well pleased to witness their devotion to him. Decimus had only seven legions, and those much weakened by the late contests: they consisted partly of his own troops, and partly of the new levies which Pansa had brought to him. He was also in great straits for money.¹ Under these circumstances he could not make a speedy movement in advance: he distrusted Lepidus: and it is evident that he desired to avoid risking a battle on the other side of the Alps.² Accordingly he marched by Regium Lepidi, Dertona, Vercellæ, Eporedia and Pollentia, to the foot of the mountains*, whilst Octavius remained in the vicinity of Mutina: but Antonius, taking a shorter route, got before him, and after encountering the greatest difficulties, passed the Alps and on the 29th of May joined Lepidus, who now sent word to the Senate of his own treason, offering some trifling pretexts in excuse.³ Plancus, at his instances, had crossed the Isara on the 24th of May, under the belief that their united forces were to be opposed to Antonius⁴; but all at once he became aware of the treachery practised upon him. His legate Laterensis, who had suffered himself to be the dupe of Lepidus, slew himself in despair.⁵ On the 4th of June Plancus recrossed the Isara, and posted himself in readiness to effect a junction with Decimus, who might be with him in three days' time.⁶ After a long and difficult march across the Alps, in which his troops suffered severely, Decimus came, bringing one legion of veterans, one of soldiers who had served two years, and eight of newly raised levies to join

¹ *Ep.* 813.
(*Div.* xi. 10.)

² *Ep.* 811.;
837. (*Div.* xi.
9. 20.)

³ *Plut. Ant.*
17.; *Ep.* 847.;
810. (*Div.* x.
23. 35.)

⁴ *Ep.* 827.
(*Div.* x. 18.)

⁵ *Ep.* 847.
(*Div.* x. 23.)

⁶ *Ep.* 847.
(*Div.* x. 23.)

* The letters of Decimus to Cicero, which were written from the places above mentioned, give us the exact details of his march; they are dated as follows:—Regium Lepidi, 28th April, *Ep.* 811. (*Div.* xi. 9.); Dertona [*Tortona*], 5th May, 813. (*Div.* xi. 10.); Vercellæ, 21st May, *Ep.* 824. (*Div.* xi. 19.); Eporedia [*Torea* in Piedmont], 24th May 837. (*Div.* xi. 20.); that from Pollentia *Ep.* 841.) was apparently written about the end of the same month.

the forces of Plancus, which consisted of three legions of veterans, and one of younger soldiers, but well trained and efficient: all of them had suffered severely on their march from hunger and sickness.¹ The union of these two commanders could no longer avail to sustain the sinking cause of the Republic. Lepidus and Antonius were too strong for any resistance they could offer; and Pollio who appears to have been slighted by the Senate, had begun to yield to the seductions of Octavius.² The last letter of Decimus to Cicero, dated the 3rd of June, bears witness to the writer's despondency.³ Plancus indeed as yet remained faithful, and for some time longer continued to hesitate between Cicero and the Cæsarians.*⁴

¹ Ep. 854.
(Div. x. 24.)
Appian, B.
iii. 81.

² Ep. 798.
(Div. x. 31.)

³ Ep. 844.
(Div. xi. 26.)

⁴ Vell. Pat.
ii. 63.

On the 6th of June he still hoped for assistance from Octavius and his powerful legions⁵: but this hope became weaker and weaker. On the 28th of July he writes to Cicero: "I have addressed the most urgent solicitations to Octavius; and he failed not to assure me that he would come without delay; but I see his mind is occupied with other plans.† You well know that [hitherto] I have participated in your regard for him: partly because as long as Cæsar the Dictator lived I was his friend, and naturally extended my interest to the young man also, partly because, from what I could observe, I judged him to be of a mild and humane disposition; added to which, loving Cæsar as I did, it seemed hardly consistent with honour not to recognize the son of his adoption. But—I speak more in sorrow than in anger—the existence of Antonius at this moment, his alliance with Lepidus, the force they both possess, their daring hopes and enterprises—these are things for which we have to thank Octavius."⁶

⁵ Ep. 854.
(Div. x. 24.)

Nevertheless, Plancus still thought it possible that Oc-

* The expression of Velleius, *Dubia, id est sua, fide*, is too severe.

† That is, about the Consulship. See the conclusion of the letter.

tavius would of himself return to a sense of his duty, or that the influence of Cicero whom he pretended to venerate so highly would have some effect upon his mind. Meanwhile he sent his own legate Furnius to do all he could in the way of persuasion.¹ Cicero, however, had by this time penetrated the real views of the young Cæsar. After the month of June he makes no more mention of him in his letters; all his hopes henceforth rest on Decimus and Plancus, and yet more on M. Brutus and Cassius.² “There is nothing nobler,” he writes to the latter, “than your valour and magnanimity. And therefore we would fain see you as soon as possible in Italy. If we only had you here, we should think we had the Republic back again.”³ This desire as he said himself, was unappeasable, and the same letter gives evidence of the gloom and anxiety which clouded his mind. It concludes with these words, the last of his writing, which have descended to us: “There are still many things to be set to rights, even though the Republic should seem to be delivered from the iniquitous projects of its enemies.” And truly the conduct of Octavius after the battle of Mutina was such as to justify this feeling. In spite of the urgent entreaties of Decimus, he refused to stir a step in pursuit of Antonius; while even supposing he had it not in his power to make the veterans act, still there were other soldiers under his command on whom his ally had every claim.⁴ But the fact was, he required an army for his own purposes, and he now found himself possessed of a considerable force at a most important juncture. For this was the moment to show that he was in good truth the inheritor of Cæsar’s power, and nothing could conduce more effectually to the furtherance of his designs than the conduct of the Senate. The aristocratic party had begun to lift its head again; it had persecuted Antonius as Cæsar’s champion and succes-

¹ *Ep.* 854.
(*Div.* x. 24.)

² *Epp.* 849.;
850.; 852.
(*Div.* xii. 8.
9.; xi. 25.
June 18th.)

³ *Ep.* 853.
(*Div.* xii. 10.,
early in July.)

⁴ *Epp.* 812.;
837. (*Div.*
xi. 10. 20.)

sor, and desired now to thrust aside his adopted son after having availed itself of his services as long as they could be useful. The troops of the late Consuls were assigned by a decree of the Senate to Decimus.¹ Decemvirs were chosen for the business of apportioning lands to the victors at Mutina, and among the number, in spite of his remonstrances, was Cicero himself. Octavius was not named: an omission which greatly incensed the veterans.² A commission of ten was also appointed to inquire into the public acts of Antonius, which, as Appian observes, was a preliminary step towards the reversal of Cæsar's decrees. Thus in reference to the present temper of the Senate, or at all events of a considerable party in it, Cicero could with sincere joy write to Decimus in the middle of May: "The Senate adopts a resolute mien, and has resolute leaders."³

¹ Dio Cass. xlv. 40.

² ² Epp. 845.; 837. (Div. xl. 21. 20.)

³ Ep. 823. (Div. xi. 18.)

In the beginning of July if not earlier, as we see from the last letter of Plancus, Octavius sought by means of his veterans to intimidate the Senate into giving him the Consulship. Cicero, it seems, tried to dissuade him. It is evident that the good understanding between them had been disturbed as far back as the month of May*, when Octavius complained of the following words ascribed to Cicero: "The young man must be praised, honoured and advanced;" †⁴ a saying which was diligently propagated. When, under the pretext of announcing that the legions refused to be led against any one who had formerly served under Cæsar, four hundred veterans appeared and demanded the Consulship for Octavius, the Senate hesitated, and one of the soldiers striking his sword said, "If *you* do not

⁴ Epp. 837. 845. (Div. xl. 20. 21.); comp. Suet. Oct. 12. Vell. Pat. ii. 62.

* After this month the name of Octavius never occurs in Cicero's letters.

† That is, into the other world. *Juvenem esse laudandum, ornandum, tollendum*. The play upon words is quite in character with Cicero's other witticisms. [It cannot be literally rendered either in English or German. We might speak, with a double meaning, of *overwhelming* with honours.]

¹ Dio Cass.
xvi. 42 43.

give Cæsar the Consulship, *this* shall." Cicero replied, "If this is his way of asking, no doubt he will obtain it."*

↗

When the troops, consisting of eight legions besides cavalry and auxiliaries, heard of the Senate's refusal, they demanded to be led to Rome. Octavius assented, this demand being in fact but the echo of his own wishes. The Senate, thus constrained, declared itself willing to accept him while yet absent as Consul, and dispatched envoys to announce his elevation.† The landing of two legions from Africa revived hope for a moment; but they went over at once to Octavius. In vain did the eyes of the Republican party turn to Brutus and Cassius. Octavius made his entry into Rome; a day was appointed for the election; and the youth of twenty was chosen Consul together with his relative Q. Pedius.

² Dio Cass.
xvii. 21.

M. Brutus was master of Macedonia and Greece, and had shut up C. Antonius in Apollonia²; Cassius had united under his command all the forces of Syria: and Dolabella, who had penetrated into that province after the murder of Trebonius, having made a fruitless attempt to take Antioch, had thrown himself into Laodicea³, where Cassius besieged him; while Lentulus, the Quæstor of Trebonius, endeavoured to keep Asia faithful to the Senate, and defended it against the fleet of the intruder.‡

³ Epp. 816.;
842.; 843.;
(Dio xii. 12.
14.; xi. 13.)

* These words, Dio adds, cost Cicero his life.

† Suetonius says that Octavius gave his name to the month Sextilis, in preference to September, in which his birthday fell (on the 23rd), because it was in the former month that he attained his first Consulship. (Oct. 31.) Velleius (ii. 65.) says: *Consulatum iniit Cæsar pridie quam viginti annos impleret X. Kal. Octobres: i. e. the 22d of September.* Dio states that Octavius died on the 19th of August, "the anniversary of the day on which he entered upon his first Consulship." (lvi. 31.; comp. Tacitus, *Ann.* i. 9.) These dates may be brought into harmony, by placing the declaration of the Senate on the 19th Aug., and the actual election on the 22nd Sept.

‡ This Lentulus, — from whom we possess two letters, one addressed to the Consuls, Prætors, &c., the other to Cicero, both dated from Perga on the

Dolabella's army soon began to suffer from hunger, while the enemy's ships cut off all access to him.¹ Early in July ^{*Ep. 851. (Div. xii. 1)*} a rumour became rife in Rome that his whole force was annihilated.² So much was true, that reduced to despair ^{*Ep. 853. (Div. xii. 1)*} by the vigorous blockade of Cassius, he had put an end to his own life.³ But all these prosperous occurrences ^{*Dio Cass. xlvii. 30.*} were useless to the cause of the Republic. Brutus kept his eyes fixed on the progress of events in Italy, but he had let slip the favourable opportunity when a bold stroke might have changed the face of affairs. Had he been on the spot at the moment after the battle of Mutina, his presence might have been the salvation of the State. As for Cassius, he was too much occupied with the contest against Dolabella to be able to oppose any obstacle to the schemes of Octavius.

The latter now assumed the name of Caius Julius Cæsar Octavianus in consequence of a decree of the Senate confirming his adoption by Cæsar. He then caused two edicts to be passed: one releasing Dolabella from the stigma attaching to his name as a public enemy, and the other (*Lex Pedia*) summoning all Cæsar's murderers to trial. As they did not appear, sentence was passed upon them in their absence, and this condemnation was extended to Sextus Pompeius also. After this Octavius quitted Rome at the head of his eight legions, apparently with the intention of marching against Antonius and Lepidus, but really hoping to win them over to his interests; for he felt that if they continued hostile, he could not possibly maintain his position in face of the twenty legions of Brutus and Cassius. When he had left the city the Consul Peditus,

2nd of June, *Ep. 842, 843. (Div. xii. 12., xi. 13.)*—was a son of Lentulus Spinther. After the death of Trebonius he endeavoured to obtain from the Senate the Proprætorship of Asia. L. Cassius, probably a nephew of Caius, took also an active part in the enterprises against Dolabella's fleet.

doubtless by his directions, proposed that Antonius and Lepidus (for the latter had also been declared a public enemy after his junction with Antonius¹) should both be relieved from this proscription. The motion was passed. The reconciliation between Antonius and Octavius was effected by the mediation of Lepidus. Plancus had up to this time remained faithful to Cicero and to the Republic; but when he beheld Decimus condemned and outlawed, and Asinius Pollio had in consequence gone over to Antonius and Lepidus, he could hold out no longer, but repaired to the standard of the Cæsarian leaders.² What must have been Cicero's feelings on hearing of his defection! There is something melancholy in the thought when we call to mind the letters that had passed between them; yet would we not judge Plancus so harshly as some have done. To hold out against the memory of the great Cæsar—against the revival of his power in the persons of the four associates, to do this in reliance upon Cicero, (whose sentiments Plancus respected, indeed, yet hardly made them altogether his own,) in reliance upon the already failing power of Brutus and Cassius—such devotion seemed no longer within the reach of the virtue of the age, since Cato had perished in its name.

Decimus Brutus had increased his seven legions to ten; but these were mostly young recruits. His first wish was to pass the Alps, escape to Macedonia by way of Aquileia, and join Brutus and Cassius. But on this route he had to fear encountering Octavius. He therefore resolved on the longer and more difficult way across the Rhine and through Rhoetia.* His army lost heart

* [If we rely upon the geographical accuracy of Appian's statement, we may suppose that Decimus intended to take the route of the Bernardin or Splügen Pass, descend into Helvetia by the upper valley of the Rhine, and

at the perils they had to contend with, and gradually abandoned him; first the new levies, who went over to Octavius, then the soldiers of older standing, who joined Antonius. The Gaulish cavalry, which composed his body guard, still adhered to him. He now gave them also permission to disperse, and dismissed them laden with all the money he had with him. Three hundred men, however, refused to quit him; and with this small remnant he pursued his way to the banks of the Rhine. Overcome with their hardships, all but ten left him. Thereupon, disguised as a Gaul, he fled to Aquileia. Being taken, he was brought bound before Camillus, a Gaulish prince, who, at the command of Antonius, cut off the head of his former benefactor.¹

¹ App. iii. 94

In Decimus Brutus the Republic lost the most able and resolute leader that had upheld its cause since Cæsar's death. His correspondence with Cicero gives us some insight into the character of the man; and it is impossible not to feel our sympathies awakened for his fate. Yet, when we reflect on the manner of his death, as well as on that of Trebonius and of so many others of Cæsar's assassins, on the fate also which afterwards befel M. Brutus and Cassius, we cannot help exclaiming in the words which the great poet puts into the mouth of Brutus at Philippi:—

“O, Julius Cæsar, thou art mighty yet!
Thy spirit walks abroad, and turns our swords
In our own proper entrails!”²

² Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, Act I Sc. 3.

And now, leaving their legates behind them, Antonius and Lepidus, with their allies, broke up from Gaul. At Bononia they were joined by Octavius, and on the 2ndth

then cross to the right into the valley of the Inn. A directer and not more difficult route would have been that by the Soglio and Maloya Pass.]

Death. ↗ of November, on a little island in the river Rhenus*, was concluded the Triumvirate, of which Cicero was destined to fall the most distinguished victim.

Cicero had not ceased to encourage and exhort, by his letters, the absent Imperators. The last in our collection

¹ To Cassius, is dated at the beginning of July¹; but it is certainly not the last he wrote, and there is strong ground for the

supposition that Octavius or his partizans may have destroyed or suppressed some later letters addressed to M. Brutus, Cassius, Cornificius, Plancus, Asinius, and possibly to Octavius himself also, describing his conduct.†

One from Plancus, dated the 28th of July and separate from the general collection, has been accidentally preserved.² It speaks of the endeavours of Octavius to

procure the Consulship, and gives some insight into the schemes of the future sovereign. Immediately after the compact at Bononia, he had betrothed himself to Claudia

↗ the daughter of Antonius; and this lends some colour to the suspicion that it was on her account he consented to surrender Cicero to the vengeance of his new father-in-law and of Fulvia, who had formerly been the wife of Clodius.

We know little of the five last months of Cicero's life, and that little is of doubtful authority. Appian and Plutarch relate that, after the battle of Mutina, Octavius induced him to acquiesce in a plan of sharing the Consulship between them, and was desirous himself of getting an honourable pretext for laying down the command of the legions; that, by this arrangement, Cicero was to

* Others call the stream the Lavinus. [The ancient authorities are: Appian, *B. C.* iv. 2.; Plut. *Cic.* 46.; *Ant.* 19.; Dio. Cass. xlv. 54. See Mr. Bunbury's article *Bononia* in *Dict. Gr. Rom. Geogr.*]

† It is there that the whole collection of Cicero's genuine letters to M. Brutus may have perished.

have the sole direction of affairs, Octavius promising to follow his advice as that of a father.¹ Cicero, he adds,¹ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 82., listened to these proposals, and incurred the ridicule of Plut. *Cic.* 5. the Senate thereby. This account will hardly find credence with any impartial person who has followed the course of Cicero's actions during this year, and can form a judgment on the respective characters of him and Octavius: besides, how would it tally with the words uttered by Cicero, according to Dio, on occasion of the demand of the Consulship by Octavius, words which certainly bear the stamp of genuineness. According to Appian², Cicero was taking an active part in the Senate² Appian, *B. C.* iii. 91. at the time of the arrival of the African legions. This is what we should naturally expect. Appian adds, that he obtained access to Octavius on the entry of the latter into Rome; whether he then apologized for his conduct in the terms the historian ascribes to him, or whether indeed there is any truth in the circumstance at all, we must leave undecided. He is stated to have been again active in the Senate when a rumour got abroad that the two powerful legions, the fourth and the Martian, had declared for the Republic; and, on discovering its falsehood, to have quitted the city.³ It is not probable that³ Appian, *B. C.* iii. 93., he ever returned thither. In vain did he turn his eyes towards Brutus and Cassius, whom the Senate summoned in all haste to its aid as soon as the plans of Octavius became fully developed. He was doomed to learn the death of Decimus and the defection of Pollio and Plancus.

Cicero was at his Tusculan villa with his brother, when the news came of the formation of the new Triumvirate and of the proscription it decreed.* They hesitated

* The authorities for the closing days of Cicero's life are: Plutarch (*Cic.* 47, 48.); Appian (*B. C.* iv. 19. foll.); Dio Cassius (xlvii. 10, 11.); Livy (*Fragm. apud Sen. Suasor.* 7.); Valerius Maximus (v. 3.); also Aufidius

whether to fly to Sextus Pompeius, to Cassius, or Brutus, and at last decided on the latter. They set out in separate litters for Astura, intending from thence to take ship for Macedonia. While on the road they frequently allowed their litters to approach, when they would indulge in mutual lamentations. Then it occurred to them that they were not provided with money sufficient for so long a journey. Quintus accordingly resolved to return to Rome. Marcus was to continue his journey. Their parting was sad in the extreme. Quintus, on his arrival in Rome, was discovered by the hired assassins of the Triumvirs and put to death, together with his son, whose filial love in these last moments cast into oblivion the many errors of his life.*

Marcus arrived at Astura, placed himself on board a vessel immediately, and got as far as the Circeian promontory. But when the sails were spread to continue the

Bassus and Cremutius Cordus (*apud Senec. ibid*). I have collected from their narratives what appears to me to be the most probable account. I have been guided particularly by these words of Livius : *Unde (a Caieta) ALIQUOTIES in altum provectum, &c.* This author mentions the Formian villa so decidedly, that I cannot follow Appian, who speaks of one near Capua. Valerius has *Caietanum*, a villa which is mentioned once, *Ep. 9. 3. (Att. i. 5.)* ; and it seems to me not improbable that it was here, close to the sea, that he spent the last night of his life. Livy might easily confound the two villas which lay so near together. Capua is too far from the sea.

* Dio (xlvii. 10.) says: "The younger Quintus Cicero did his utmost to save his father from the assassins who were tracking him. He not only concealed him so that he could nowhere be found, but would not suffer the most cruel tortures to extort anything from his own lips. On learning this, the father came forth, unsought, from his hiding place and delivered himself up, bewailing and admiring his son." Appian's account is: "Quintus Cicero was seized, together with his son, by the assassins who had been sent after them. He implored them to put him to death before his son, who, on his part also, requested to be slain first. The murderers, replying that they should both be satisfied, divided themselves into two parties, and slew the father and son at the same moment."

voyage, a fit of irresolution came over him, and he caused himself to be set on shore again, and went some way on foot in the direction of Rome. Again he turned, however, and passed the night at Circeii. The thought of Octavius's treachery gave him no rest. At one moment he entertained the idea of going to Rome, stealing privately into the dwelling of Octavius, and plunging a dagger into his own breast on the domestic altar, in order to bring the vengeance of the gods upon the traitor. But his constitutional indecision and his dread of torture deterred him. On the morrow after this melancholy night, he yielded to the pressing entreaties of his slaves, and once more embarked. But adverse winds and a rough sea causing him to suffer from sea-sickness, as soon as he reached the harbour of Caieta he got on shore again, and though oppressed by sinister forebodings, betook himself to his Formian villa, which was at no great distance. To the warnings of his attendants he replied: "Let me die in my own country, which I have so often saved." Once more he laid himself down to sleep; but his slaves, anxious for the safety of their beloved master, and frightened by omens of coming disaster, forced him to get into a litter, and hurried with him through a thick forest towards the sea-coast. Meanwhile, a troop of soldiers, eager for the reward set on his head, arrived at the Formian villa, which they found closed and barred. The band was commanded by Herennius a centurion, and by the Tribune Popilius Læna, whom Cicero had once successfully defended in a hazardous process, at the intercession of Cælius. The road which the fugitives had taken was revealed by the treachery of a countryman. As soon as he perceived the troop approaching, Cicero made his slaves desist from any attempt to defend him. He commanded them to set down the litter, and having drawn back the curtains,

stretched forth his head, calling out to Herennius, "Come on, old soldier, and strike, if you understand your own business." Most of the soldiers covered their faces when they saw Cicero's countenance disfigured as it was by the mental sufferings he had undergone, his disordered hair, and the fixed glance which he cast upon them. But Herennius stepped forward; and after three strokes the head fell.* The 7th of December was the fatal day.¹

¹ Tac. *Dial. de clar. Or.* 17.

The assassins brought the head to Antonius, who was sitting on the tribune. He received it with undissembled joy, paid the stipulated price ten times over†, and after it had been treated with great indignities by Fulvia‡, placed it, with the hands which had likewise been cut off, on the Rostrum, the spot whence his victim had so often fulminated against him all the powers of his eloquence. Men could scarcely raise their eyes in tears and lamentations, to behold these beloved relics.

Such was the end of Cicero, of whom Julius Cæsar had once said, "his triumph and his laurel wreath are so far nobler than those of warriors, as it is a greater achievement to extend the bounds of Roman intellect, than the dominion of the Roman people."²

² Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vii. 30.

And we, in conclusion, reflecting how our hero controlled, in the toga, a Verres, a Rullus, a Catiline, and an Antonius, and again, what was the fate of Rome after the establishment of the Imperial despotism, may add the words of Cicero himself eight months before his death: "It is my fate never to conquer without the Republic, nor to be conquered but with her."³

³ Phil. xiii. 15.)

* According to Appian it was Læna who dealt the mortal stroke.

† He added 250,000 Attic drachmæ to the usual reward. Appian, *B. C.* iv. 20.

‡ She took the head on her lap, insulted it with the bitterest words, spat upon it, pulled out the tongue and bored it through with her needle.

COMPARATIVE TABLE

OF

CICERO'S LETTERS.



The numeration in the first column is that of the ordinary edition ; in the second that of Schütz's chronological arrangement and of the author's text.



LETTERS TO ATTICUS.

| I. | | 8 | 34 | 11 | 65 | 13 | 129 | VI. | |
|-----|----|------|----|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-----|
| 1 | 10 | 9 | 35 | 12 | 66 | 14 | 137 | 1 | 252 |
| 2 | 11 | 10 | 37 | 13 | 68 | 15 | 142 | 2 | 256 |
| 3 | 8 | 11 | 38 | 14 | 67 | 16 | 149 | 3 | 264 |
| 4 | 9 | 12 | 36 | 15 | 70 | 17 | 156 | 4 | 268 |
| 5 | 1 | 13 | 39 | 16 | 71 | 18 | 157 | 5 | 269 |
| 6 | 2 | 14 | 40 | 17 | 72 | v. | | 6 | 276 |
| 7 | 3 | 15 | 41 | 18 | 73 | 1 | 184 | 7 | 270 |
| 8 | 4 | 16 | 42 | 19 | 74 | 2 | 185 | 8 | 281 |
| 9 | 5 | 17 | 43 | 20 | 75 | 3 | 186 | 9 | 282 |
| 10 | 6 | 18 | 44 | 22 | 78 | 4 | 187 | VII. | |
| 11 | 7 | 19 | 45 | 23 | 80 | 6 | 189 | 1 | 284 |
| 12 | 16 | 20 | 46 | 24 | 82 | 7 | 190 | 2 | 293 |
| 13 | 18 | 21 | 47 | 25 | 83 | 8 | 193 | 3 | 294 |
| 14 | 19 | 22 | 48 | 26 | 84 | 9 | 195 | 4 | 295 |
| 16 | 21 | 23 | 49 | 27 | 85 | 10 | 196 | 5 | 296 |
| 17 | 22 | 24 | 50 | iv. | | 11 | 198 | 6 | 297 |
| 18 | 23 | 25 | 51 | 1 | 87 | 12 | 200 | 7 | 298 |
| 19 | 24 | III. | | 2 | 88 | 13 | 201 | 8 | 299 |
| 20 | 25 | 2 | 54 | 3 | 89 | 14 | 204 | 9 | 300 |
| II. | | 3 | 53 | 4 | 98 | 15 | 207 | 10 | 303 |
| | 1 | 4 | 55 | 5 | 106 | 16 | 208 | 11 | 304 |
| | 2 | 5 | 57 | 6 | 109 | 17 | 209 | 12 | 305 |
| | 3 | 6 | 58 | 7 | 111 | 18 | 214 | 13 | 307 |
| | 4 | 7 | 60 | 8 | 117 | 19 | 220 | 14 | 308 |
| | 5 | 8 | 61 | 9 | 119 | 20 | 228 | 15 | 309 |
| | 6 | 9 | 62 | 10 | 118 | 21 | 250 | 16 | 311 |
| | 7 | 10 | 64 | 11 | 122 | | | 17 | 314 |

LETTERS TO ATTICUS—*Continued.*

| | | | | | | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|
| VII. | | 10 | 376 | 15 | 531 | 38 | 621 | 8 | 718 |
| 18 | 315 | 12 | 378 | 16 | 532 | 39 | 622 | 9 | 721 |
| 19 | 316 | 13 | 379 | 18 | 533 | 40 | 623 | 10 | 722 |
| 20 | 317 | 14 | 380 | 19 | 535 | 41 | 624 | 11 | 723 |
| 21 | 318 | 16 | 382 | 21 | 538 | 42 | 651 | 12 | 724 |
| 22 | 319 | 17 | 383 | 23 | 541 | 44 | 626 | 13 | 766 |
| 25 | 322 | 18 | 384 | 24 | 542 | 46 | 628 | 14 | 736 |
| VIII. | | XI. | | 28 | 546 | 47 | 632 | 15 | 727 |
| 1 | 324 | 1 | 386 | 30 | 548 | 48 | 633 | 16 | 725 |
| 2 | 325 | 2 | 387 | 32 | 550 | 49 | 634 | 16 | 726 |
| 3 | 326 | 3 | 391 | 34 | 556 | 50 | 636 | 17 | 728 |
| 5 | 328 | 4 | 392 | 35 | 560 | 51 | 637 | 18 | 729 |
| 6 | 329 | 5 | 396 | 36 | 561 | 52 | 650 | 19 | 730 |
| 7 | 330 | 6 | 398 | 38 | 563 | XIV. | | 20 | 731 |
| 9 | 332 | 7 | 400 | 40 | 567 | 1 | 679 | 21 | 732 |
| 11 | 334 | 8 | 402 | 41 | 569 | 2 | 680 | 22 | 735 |
| 12 | 336 | 9 | 404 | 45 | 574 | 3 | 681 | 26 | 742 |
| 13 | 337 | 10 | 405 | 46 | 575 | 4 | 682 | 27 | 744 |
| 14 | 338 | 12 | 407 | 49 | 578 | 5 | 683 | 28 | 743 |
| 15 | 339 | 13 | 408 | 50 | 579 | 6 | 684 | XVI. | |
| IX. | | 14 | 409 | 51 | 580 | 7 | 686 | 1 | 747 |
| 2 | 343 | 15 | 410 | 52 | 581 | 8 | 687 | 2 | 750 |
| 4 | 345 | 16 | 411 | XIII. | | 9 | 688 | 3 | 754 |
| 5 | 346 | 17 | 412 | 1 | 583 | 10 | 689 | 4 | 749 |
| 6 | 347 | 18 | 414 | 2 | 584 | 11 | 690 | 5 | 748 |
| 7 | 348 | 20 | 425 | 6 | 593 | 12 | 691 | 6 | 758 |
| 9 | 350 | 21 | 426 | 9 | 600 | 13 | 692 | 7 | 759 |
| 10 | 351 | 22 | 427 | 10 | 601 | 14 | 693 | 8 | 767 |
| 11 | 352 | 23 | 417 | 11 | 602 | 15 | 696 | 9 | 768 |
| 14 | 355 | 24 | 421 | 13 | 604 | 16 | 697 | 11 | 769 |
| 15 | 356 | 25 | 416 | 19 | 610 | 17 | 698 | 13 | 778 |
| 16 | 357 | XII. | | 20 | 611 | 18 | 701 | 14 | 774 |
| 17 | 358 | 1 | 441 | 25 | 617 | 19 | 700 | 15 | 775 |
| 18 | 359 | 3 | 444 | 26 | 570 | 20 | 703 | 16a | 738 |
| 19 | 360 | 4 | 445 | 27 | 586 | 21 | 704 | 16b | 751 |
| X. | | 5 | 449 | 28 | 587 | 22 | 705 | 16c | 739 |
| 1 | 361 | 6 | 453 | 30 | 589 | XV. | | 16d | 740 |
| 3 | 363 | 7 | 539 | 31 | 590 | 1 | 706 | 16e | 752 |
| 3b | 364 | 9 | 459 | 32 | 591 | 2 | 708 | 16f | 753 |
| 4 | 366 | 11 | 515 | 33 | 592 | 4 | 710 | | |
| 7 | 370 | 12 | 528 | 34 | 629 | 5 | 717 | | |
| 8 | 374 | 13 | 529 | 35 | 619 | 6 | 719 | | |
| 9 | 375 | 14 | 530 | 37 | 620 | 7 | 720 | | |

LETTERS TO QUINTUS.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|----|----|-----|-----|----|-----|------|-----|------|-----|
| I. | | II. | | 6 | 104 | 15 | 140 | 4 | 150 |
| 1 | 29 | 1 | 90 | 9 | 120 | 16 | 144 | 5, 6 | 154 |
| 2 | 52 | 2 | 97 | 10 | 121 | III. | | 7 | 155 |
| 3 | 63 | 3 | 99 | 12 | 132 | 1 | 146 | 8 | 158 |
| 4 | 69 | 4 | 102 | 13 | 134 | 2 | 151 | 9 | 159 |
| | | 5 | 103 | 14 | 138 | 3 | 152 | | |

LETTERS TO AND FROM DIVERS FRIENDS.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-------|------------------|-----|-----|-------|-----|------|-----|
| I. | | V. | | 5 | 210 | XI. | | 43 | 669 |
| 1 | 92 | 1 | 13 | 6 | 242 | 1 | 685 | 57 | 254 |
| 2 | 93 | 2 | 14 | 7 | 243 | 2 | 713 | 67 | 509 |
| 3 | 94 | 6 | 15 | 8 | 223 | 3 | 757 | 68 | 462 |
| 4 | 95 | 7 | 12 | 9 | 211 | 4 | 761 | 77 | 618 |
| 5 | 96 | 8 | 131 | 10 | 225 | 5 | 776 | 78 | 435 |
| 5 | 100 | 9 | 598 | 11 | 267 | 6 | 777 | 79 | 436 |
| 6 | 101 | 10 | 654 | 12 | 279 | 7 | 778 | XIV. | |
| 7 | 113 | 11 | 646 | 13 | 272 | 8 | 790 | 1 | 79 |
| 8 | 125 | 12 | 108 | 14 | 280 | 9 | 811 | 2 | 76 |
| 9 | 148 | 13 | 558 | 15 | 335 | 10 | 813 | 3 | 81 |
| II. | | 14 | 568 ^a | 16 | 367 | 13 | 843 | 4 | 59 |
| 1 | 166 | 15 | 568 ^b | 17 | 388 | 16 | 786 | 5 | 283 |
| 2 | 168 | 17 | 176 | IX. | | 17 | 787 | 6 | 394 |
| 5 | 175 | 18 | 179 | 1 | 431 | 18 | 823 | 7 | 385 |
| 6 | 178 | 20 | 302 | 2 | 440 | 19 | 824 | 8 | 390 |
| 7 | 227 | 21 | 438 | 3 | 439 | 20 | 837 | 11 | 413 |
| 8 | 199 | VI. | | 4 | 413 | 21 | 845 | 12 | 395 |
| 10 | 226 | 1 | 517 | 5 | 448 | 25 | 852 | 13 | 419 |
| 11 | 255 | 4 | 526 | 6 | 446 | 26 | 844 | 14 | 306 |
| 12 | 263 | 5 | 479 | 8 | 616 | 27 | 715 | 19 | 397 |
| 13 | 257 | 6 | 470 | 9 | 389 | 28 | 716 | 20 | 429 |
| 15 | 273 | 8 | 476 | 10 | 519 | XII. | | 23 | 423 |
| 16 | 372 | 10 | 527 | 11 | 537 | 1 | 711 | XV. | |
| 17 | 271 | 12 | 514 | 12 | 649 | 2 | 762 | 1 | 221 |
| 18 | 258 | 13 | 465 | 14 | 699 | 3 | 763 | 2 | 219 |
| III. | | 14 | 475 | 15 | 473 | 4 | 792 | 3 | 212 |
| 2 | 183 | 15 | 677 | 16 | 450 | 5 | 794 | 4 | 238 |
| 3 | 191 | 18 | 521 | 17 | 455 | 7 | 803 | 5 | 266 |
| 4 | 194 | 21 | 596 | 18 | 451 | 8 | 849 | 6 | 278 |
| 5 | 205 | 22 | 432 | 19 | 454 | 9 | 850 | 13 | 240 |
| 6 | 213 | VII. | | 20 | 456 | 10 | 853 | 14 | 241 |
| 7 | 244 | 1 | 126 | 24 | 795 | 11 | 797 | 16 | 522 |
| 8 | 222 | 2 | 182 | 25 | 246 | 12 | 816 | 17 | 520 |
| 9 | 249 | 3 | 452 | 26 | 474 | 13 | 851 | 18 | 518 |
| 10 | 261 | 5 | 133 | X. | | 14 | 842 | 19 | 523 |
| 11 | 265 | 10 | 145 | 1 | 760 | 15 | 841 | 21 | 430 |
| 12 | 275 | 11 | 167 | 2 | 765 | 16 | 714 | XVI. | |
| 13 | 277 | 12 | 170 | 4 | 788 | 17 | 640 | 1 | 285 |
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| 14 | 516 | 2 | 202 | 33 | 833 | 15 | 554 | 23 | 695 |
| 15 | 433 | 3 | 203 | 35 | 840 | 16 | 555 | 26 | 855 |
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